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Chapter

6

A Background Paper
on Behalf of
The Royal Commission
on the Northern
Environment.

Northern Shortcomings—What Remains to Be Done

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Chapter 6

NORTHERN SHORTCOMINGS—WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE

A common theme of the many submissions presented to the Commission was the desire of northerners for meaningful participation in decisions affecting them. Southern influences and solutions were seen as overbearing and, in most instances, inappropriate to northern conditions. Southern standards, in housing for example, when applied in the north, often result in excessive costs to those affected. Few government programs are seen to reflect the special needs and circumstances of the north. Some conceded that the establishment of the Ministry of Northern Affairs may prove to be a step in the right direction, but believed that it is too soon to know what real changes this ministry will initiate.

—Mr. Justice E.P. Hartt

Isolation, Loneliness, Distance Deepen Problems

LONG DISTANCES, wilderness, rugged terrain, severe climate, small population, scattered settlements — all combine to make delivery of social services in the north extremely difficult and costly. The Commission was told that the level of services considered minimal in the south, and often taken for granted, is simply not available to northerners. A visit to a doctor in a city might be followed by a ten-minute ride to the hospital. In the north, such a need for hospitalization would, in many instances, involve a 40-mile drive over icy roads or a mercy flight in an airplane operating without adequate instrumentation or ground control.

Isolation and loneliness exaggerate problems arising from marital discord and interpersonal friction. “Cabin-fever” is more than just a catchy phrase in the north. With a population so small and scattered, it is difficult for government to provide adequate care facilities, and there are few neighbours to lend a helping hand in times of stress.

The Commission learned from educators of difficulties in planning appropriate curricula for a population, the bulk of which is highly transient. Professional people saw themselves hampered by the distance from colleagues and from opportunities to maintain or upgrade their expertise.

Parents of children with learning disabilities addressing the Commission spoke feelingly of many unsuccessful attempts to obtain special education.

In Toronto, a child with a speech problem has the option of attending a speech clinic at the Hospital for Sick Children (paid for by OHIP) or of being transported by school bus (paid for by the Board of Education) to a regular elementary school with a special program for speech-disabled children. Such a child in the north is mainly dependent on his parents to provide what help they can muster.

Older students often face the trauma of leaving their homes to seek secondary or post-secondary education in larger centres. Even when such schooling is available close to their own communities, a long bus ride in the cold, dark winter is a harsh necessity for many.

Every service is affected by the northern reality. Recreation, transportation, communications — all face the restrictions imposed by distance and isolation.

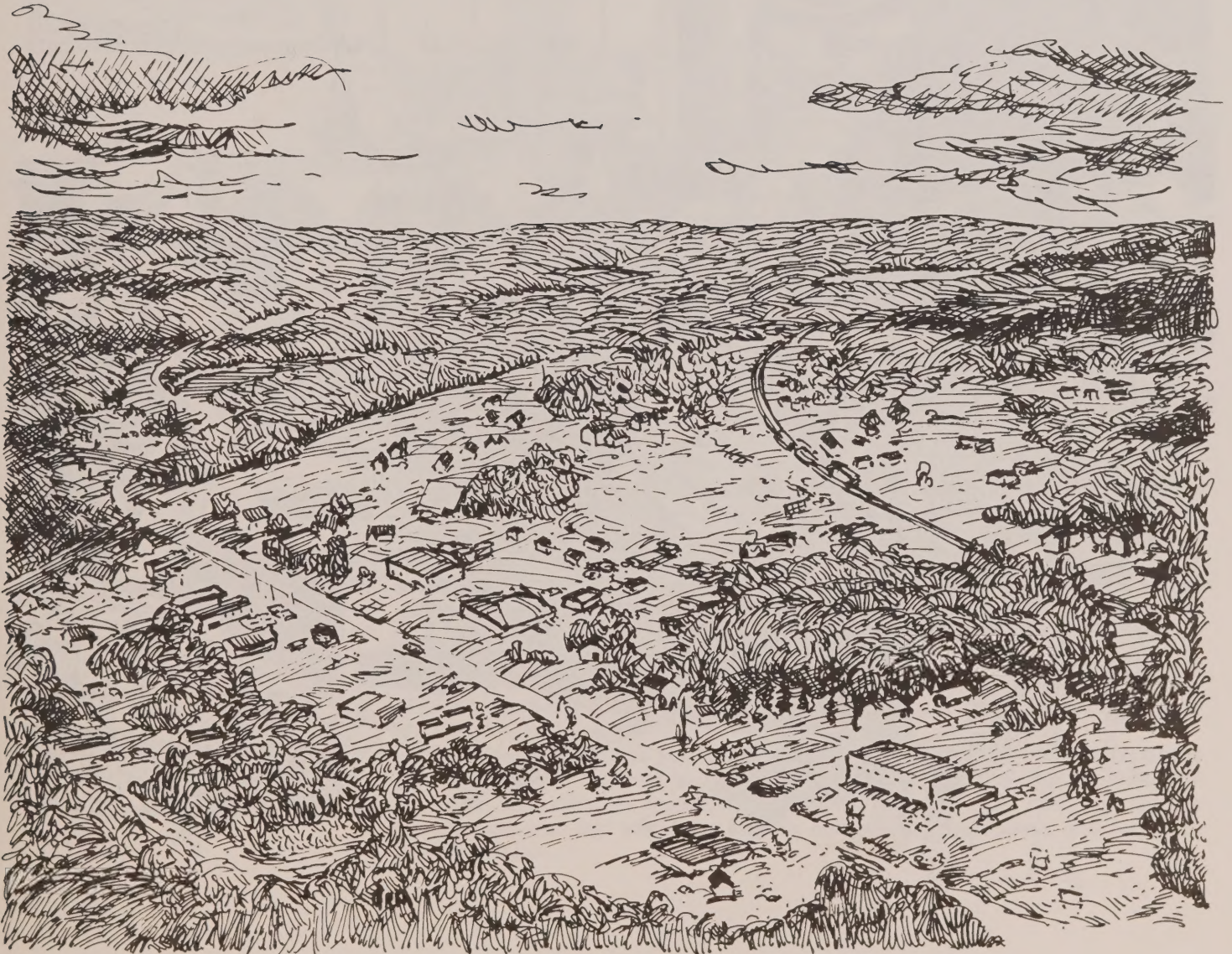
Because of the burden that invariably is placed on existing and already inadequate social services, many northerners fear the massive influx of transient workers that comes with development. According to northern experience, even after the initial inrush of newcomers ends, a greatly enlarged population places an intolerable strain on all facilities, on schools, hospitals, sewage systems, courts, housing, recreational facilities and other social services. In their appearances before the Commission, both natives and non-natives spoke of development with trepidation. Some were hopeful that if northerners are consulted and considered in advance of development, then social planning could reduce social distress.

Another aspect of this thrust for more northern input into decision-making is the popular wish to clarify which level of government is responsible for what services and how conflict may be minimized. Federal, provincial, municipal and band council governments all have interests in the north. What northern residents are seeking is a realistic approach and practical means of making their interests known to their governing bodies and having a say in how those interests are met.

Treaties and rights constitute one of the most contentious problems involving all levels of government in the north. Native people, in the main, feel the treaties are inadequate, either because of lack of meaningful consultation during negotiations or because of broken promises. The point they make is that their forefathers misunderstood the purposes of the treaties. In their view, the land belongs to the Great Spirit. Man, as part of nature, has the right to use the land, but he does not own it. It is not his to give away. Native people want new arrangements to reflect today's concerns while honouring yesterday's commitments.

Metis and non-status Indian representatives declared their wish to be included in the renegotiations of the treaties. They claim that they have been wrongfully excluded and deserve to be heard. Apart from native peoples, corporate industrial concerns also have a stake in having such questions as land claims settled. Uncertainty about land claims was easily recognized by the Commission as a barrier to development.

Whatever needs there are to be served and whatever the social issues, all seemed agreed in discussion that a priority concern for the people of the north and for their involvement in decision-making must form the necessary background for future development. Northerners left little doubt that they wish to rely on their own initiative, planning and strengths in determining the direction of their future.





Education in North Needs Special Consideration

Northerners urged that more financial resources be allocated for education in northern Ontario so that their children could benefit from advanced remedial and special education programs. Well-stocked libraries and properly equipped recreational facilities for schools were also sought. Native northerners lamented the imposition of the dominant society's values on their children. They stressed the need for curricula recognizing native values, experiences and culture to teach their children how to cope with their environment.

Northern Education—A Different Experience

The experience of going to school in the north is quite singular, different from that in any other locale in the province of Ontario.

While the curriculum is similar to that in the south, a phenomenon that most northerners consider highly inappropriate, other similarities end at this point. Many northern communities do have their own elementary schools, but often whether or not one's child can attend junior kindergarten, for example, is dependent upon the enrolment for that year.

High school education, in particular, can be markedly different for students in the north. There are only three northern secondary schools and if one does not reside in the communities in which they are based, obtaining a high school education is quite an accomplishment. Because of the north's small populations and isolated communities, many obstacles confront students seeking to graduate from high school.

In southern urban Ontario, getting to class is a matter of walking a few blocks or taking public transit to a high school stocked with the latest in study and recreational facilities. In the north, most students must either commute long distances to school by bus, often in severe weather conditions, or leave family and friends to board in a strange community.

Long hours on buses cause fatigue for some students. It is not unusual for many to leave home at seven in the morning and not return until six at night. These commuters are rarely able to participate in extracurricular activities at school. Once homework is done at night, they have little time or energy for social and recreational activities. Research studies show that students who travel long distances to school by bus every day are more likely to be enrolled in basic or general level subjects than in advanced courses. Such students are more likely to be absent and to drop out of school prior to graduation.

Students obliged to board out in order to attend high school reflect the burdens of loneliness, homesickness, inadequate supervision and financial strain on their families' budgets.

Indian representatives pointed out that native students experience all of the above difficulties, but must, as well, cope with an educational system predicated on values and cultures foreign to their own. Native people are chagrined to see the language and traditions of their own society overlooked, and forgotten through neglect.

An oft-reiterated regret in the north is the lack of remedial and special teaching. Needed classrooms, libraries and recreational facilities are often beyond the financial capacity of local school boards. In the north, the municipal tax base is small and dependency upon provincial financial support is great.

The Commission was frequently reminded that provincial education standards do not appear to recognize adequately the unique requirements of northern education. Small northern school populations may be ineligible for remedial teaching facilities, yet in desperate need of them due to the transient nature of the area's population and the shuttling of children from school to school.

Not surprisingly, census figures show the percentage of the northern population which had completed grades 11 to 13 considerably lower than for the rest of Ontario. The Commission was asked to consider this negative comparison and other discrepancies in northern education.



Improved Education—A Shared Goal

Education is a matter of common concern to all people of the north. Both native and non-native residents advised the Commission of the inadequacies of the present educational package. For non-natives, the system, designed and reflecting southern priorities, fails to parallel southern attainment standards. It is not responsive to their children's needs for schooling and a greater range of educational opportunities. Limited curriculum choices are the rule.

Native northerners share some of the general concerns of their non-native neighbours for improved education. Many of their briefs, on the other hand, directed the Commission's attention to the incongruity of the basic assumptions and values of the educational system itself. Their primary criticism was that the present educational structure imposes a curriculum which reflects the values and priorities of an alien culture, that of the dominant white, industrial, urban society to the south. As a consequence of this approach, they believe that their own culture, indeed their very survival as a unique and independent people, is threatened.

In Red Lake and Ear Falls, the Commissioner was told how the school system in that area:

" . . . attempts to provide a full range of academic courses for students, but cannot afford all of these in any one year. The high school does not offer major programs in commercial or vocational and other job-oriented studies . . . There are . . . limited . . . opportunities for adult . . . and post-secondary education."

(Tri-Municipal Committee, Red Lake, p. 473)

Students in Red Lake told the Commissioner that:

"The education system around here is really bad. In public schools we are not completely prepared for entering high school. We are taught only a few subjects instead of a little of everything. If the teacher doesn't like teaching a specific subject, he or she emphasizes another, usually phys ed, maths or geography. Hardly any English is taught, so when we come into high school we are expected to know a lot more than we do. We don't actually know anything. The curriculum should be the same everywhere in the system and followed closely. In the high school we don't have many choices in grade 13 as to what subject to take. We are sent to Dryden or Kenora if the subject is not offered here. This means leaving our friends and families from around here; however, judging from projected enrolments we may not have Grade 13 next year."

(Doreen Heinrichs and Dana Robbins, Red Lake, p. 526)

It was further explained that:

"Students who wish specific programs in grade nine or ten, or who are in a higher grade, are required to obtain their education in other school systems. At the

present time, the board subsidizes 22 of these students by reimbursing the parents for their children's expenses. Would you move to a community, knowing your family would split up, in order for your children to obtain an education that is readily available in another more southerly community?"

(Connell and Ponsford District School Board, Pickle Lake, p. 1730)

Physical facilities are also frequently inadequate:

"The Moose Fort School is 28 years old. There are 250 pupils from grade one to grade five in this school. The building was once a student dormitory which has been converted to a school. This building has been declared a fire hazard . . . unsanitary, dangerous, unsuitable and costly . . . In September 1978, the National Health and Welfare that supplies our schools with steam heating will terminate this service."

(Moose Factory Island Public School Board, Moose Factory, p. 3325)

The Commission heard what proved to be a recurring and universal sentiment in the north and one not limited to education issues:

"It is a known fact, north of the 50th, that bureaucrats in Toronto make decisions without even thinking of consulting people who will bear the burden of their decisions."

(Moose Factory Island Public School Board, Moose Factory, p. 3328)

Northerners conceded that there were facilities for education and training in some of their areas as good as any in the south. The James Bay Education Centre, a large modern structure in Moosonee, was cited as one such example. Its objectives were the meeting of the educational, vocational and social needs of all the residents of the James Bay-Hudson Bay area, the assuring of the development of basic occupational and domestic skills, the provision of vocational and employment training and the development of recreational and cultural programs.

When the education centre was officially opened, the Honourable William Davis, then Minister of Education, emphasized in his speech that the centre's success required that the people for whom it was built participate in planning both operation and programs. Such a philosophy fits comfortably with people in that area.

To some, the enigma of the James Bay Education Centre was that, with all the physical structures and capital equipment in place, with all the fine objectives and philosophy of participation defined, with an existing possibility to train and equip northerners for employment, the government of the day has yet to provide the funds necessary to develop and implement the educational training programs, the very content of which would assure the realization of the centre's objectives.

Elsewhere, apart from frequently identified issues of inadequate facilities, funding and curriculum, there were particular problems raised before the Commission. Individuals, speaking from personal experience, raised concerns that other northerners share:

"Our son has a learning disability. He needs special remedial training. We were told our son is far below his grade in reading after a psychological assessment which was taken last year. We wrote a letter to the Ministry of Education in Thunder Bay asking for help for our son; and to our surprise we were given the suggestion to send our son to a relative in the city for special training. It is shocking to think that people in the north are being asked to move to the larger centres to benefit from educational facilities that are supposed to be supplied by all school boards by the Ministry of Education."

(Linda and Don Pickett, Pickle Lake, p. 1722)

And again:

"Facilities for special children are non-existent in Pickle Lake. As the parents of a special child, we have made enquiries as to what is available in Ontario and find that there is little or nothing available for children in the grey area between retardation and normality."

(Don McKelvie, Pickle Lake, p. 1638)

In addition to the children with learning disabilities or those in need of special education, there are a significant number of northern children in need of remedial teaching. Their need in no way reflects upon their innate intelligence and ability. What it does reflect upon are learning and teaching difficulties peculiar to a transient population.

For example, in Pickle Lake the school board must:

"... deal with a community which is largely composed of a transient population. We experience a very high student turnover. This results in an abnormally high percentage of our students needing remedial teaching. Some of the students we obtain have moved numerous times over a short period. From September 1976 to September 1977, the school experienced 163 transfers of students to other schools. During the same period, we also admitted 165 new students in their place. This constituted a total movement of 328 students. This is almost double our present enrolment of 178 students. In June 1977, the Canadian Test of Basic Skills was given to 133 of 149 students then enrolled in the school. This test is approved by the Ministry of Education and is widely used in schools across Ontario. It will give an indication as to the level of development obtained by the student body in basic language skills. Of the 133 students tested in June, 107 are still enrolled with us. Of those 107, 28 per cent are more than one year behind in those skills. This 28 per cent does not mean that we have a large per cent of slow learners or other disabilities. These

are normal, healthy, average children who are behind because of the lack of facilities or special help in northern communities with the underlying problem of frequent changes in residents."

(Connell and Ponsford District School Board, Pickle Lake, p. 1728)

The problem of busing is another issue. Many students must spend long, tiring hours travelling considerable distances, often over winding, rough and icy roads. Not only does this cause concern to parents and school officials for the safety and well-being of the student, but the high cost of transportation in the north, in both maintenance and operation of vehicles, means that already strained educational budgets must be further stretched.

Going "out" to school is a reality for many northerners. Leaving one's family, friends and home environment is often necessary for northern students, both native and non-native, who want to continue their secondary education. For example, the Commission heard how native students from Moosonee and other northern points go to Timmins or other predominantly white populated places and in doing so:

"... are suddenly propelled into a community with which they are totally unfamiliar, thereby causing them undue stress, which in large part accounts for the considerable number of drop-outs among students."

(Canadian Civil Liberties Union, Timmins Chapter, Timmins, p. 2322)

Non-native students do not suffer the same cultural shock when they are required to leave their homes for an academic year. In speaking to this issue, the students of Pickle Lake told the Commission that they think there is a need for:

"... a regional high school and residential school for the kids of the north. We need provincial and federal government co-operation to obtain this. This would bring the youths of the north together. It would cut down on finances for room and board. Also, it would save the government money because they don't have to transport kids all the way to Thunder Bay, Sioux Lookout, Winnipeg, and all other large cities and towns. This idea would also help kids graduate since they are not so far away from school."

(Crolancia Public School, Grades 9 and 10, Pickle Lake, p. 1627)

The Commission heard a great deal from native northerners about their experience with and perception of the educational system. Their major concern was the negative impact that the educational system had and continues to have on the native student:

"We have had lots of samples of the white man's education. The first time was in 1905 when someone convinced us to let some children go to residential school, and we sent ten students out. Maybe they

weren't looked after, or maybe they could not get used to the environment, but anyway, they only ever sent one of them back, and nobody really knows what happened to the rest of them. After that, my grandfather, Jake Fiddler, who was the chief at that time, vowed that no more children would go out to school as long as he lived; and no more ever did. It was not until my father, Tom Fiddler, became chief in 1940 that our children started going out to school again."

(Chief Saul Fiddler, Sandy Lake, p. 2416)

When they did start going out to school again there were systematic attempts to separate native children from a fundamental part of their culture:

"Every Friday evening . . . it was time for us to report whether we spoke our language, Cree, during the week. If we confessed to using our own language we were denied the visit with our parents and younger brothers and sisters which was the only privilege we had. In other words, we had to lie to the minister in order to visit with our parents and relatives."

(Gilbert Faries, Moose Factory, p. 3277)

"School has trapped our children between two cultures. It teaches them your ways, not ours. They have only one lesson a week in Ojibway. This is not enough! And when we suggest that our elders become teachers so our children will learn our culture and ways, we are told there is not enough money."

(Pikangikum Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2449)

The Commission was also told how the white man's education is fundamentally irrelevant to the lifestyle and values of the Indians:

"Society's social and spiritual values and its attitudes are reflected in the educational program. The Euro-Canadian system seems to assume that competition between individuals is an inherent human characteristic to be promoted in the schools. It seems to promote individual success and achievement . . . and seems to address itself primarily to intellectual growth, largely ignoring physical, social, spiritual, emotional and psychological development."

(Ifka Filipovich, Sioux Lookout, p. 354)

"Now Kenomatiwin¹ system is different. It is harsh. It is a system which puts man against man, man against nature, man against the skies. It is competitive, not co-operative, and often destroys. My people are frightened as they see the destruction before them. My

people realize we must return to our own educational system if we are to survive."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2890)

¹Formal education.

The Commission heard that formal education has been available to some of the native communities in Treaty # 9 for at least 25 years. But:

"Within those 25 years, the education system has produced in our area only two university graduates, countless elementary, secondary and post-secondary drop-outs, a large absenteeism record and indifference to education as a whole by the community members."

(Northern Native Education Council, Moosonee, p. 3178)

Before the intrusion of the Euro-Canadian culture, the native people had:

" . . . an educational system which was unique in that it involved every member of the family. The elders and the grandparents were involved in the philosophical and theoretical part of teaching. They taught the mysteries of life and of the world. The parents were involved in the practical aspects, teaching the child how to survive by showing him how to do things. The child was expected to learn by himself by being sent to the bush alone to achieve his spiritual development. The child, through this learning process, was given direction and the motivation to want to learn about life and to want to become a meaningful and successful part of that life."

(Northern Native Education Council, Moosonee, p. 3183)

In criticizing the present education system, northern natives did not suggest that they do not want education. But the education they seek must be:

" . . . meaningful to the student. It must be something which he can understand and relate to . . . It must enhance the culture and the identity of the student."

(Northern Native Education Council, Moosonee, p. 3179)

At the same time:

"We know that we have to adopt from your culture and other cultures those things which will benefit us. Adopting and accepting from other cultures those things which will add to our foundations, giving us a stronger sense of identity, is only logical if we are to survive as people."

(Northern Native Education Council, Moosonee, p. 3183)

Meaningful education should prepare native students for survival in the Euro-Canadian world, should they choose to be part of that world, while allowing them to retain their traditional values:

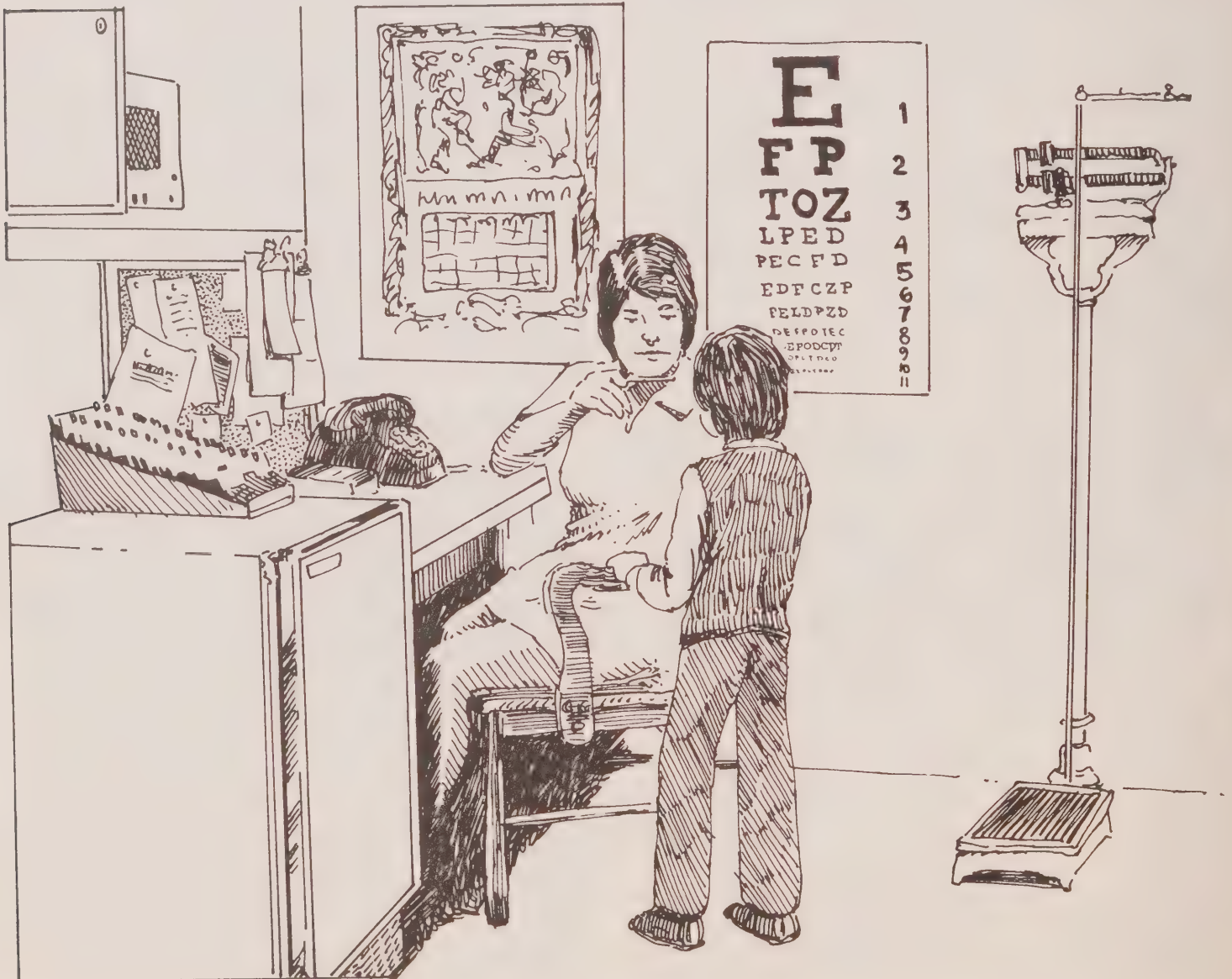
"My people must control their own system if they are to make changes. We want to decide on the objectives of education. We want to choose the curriculum and the methods of teaching. We want Indian control of Indian education. The reason for this is simple. We want to use education to regain control of our lives. We know that until our children become doctors and nurses, our health will be in jeopardy. Our homes on reserves will not be designed for comfort and safety until there are Indian engineers. Our legal system will not be just until we have Indian lawyers, public officers and judges. Through our own system of education, our children will have the access to jobs. They will have the means to communicate and unite. They will have strength in politics, and the freedom to live where they want to live."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2892)

In the opinion of native people there is reason for optimism for education in the north although much needs to be changed. In Moosonee, the question was posed whether any educational program existed which responded to the objective of preparing people for two cultures. Such programs are the exception. However, an attempt is being made in Moose Factory:

"Our system teaches oral Cree from kindergarten to grade eight, teaches trapping, goose hunting and outdoor camping skills, as well as all the basic skills found in regular elementary programs. Our students at the end of grade eight are easily as skilled as any in the area despite our cultural content and emphasis. If our objectives are accurate and our schools don't fall down, we will be training pupils who have the skills and knowledge to either live in a traditional manner or follow a career related to the professions. Regardless of the choice, we want both opportunities to exist here in the traditional home of our students."

(Warner West, Moose Factory, p. 3335)



Health Care a Particular Concern

In the north, isolation, distance, high costs and lack of medical professionals place heavy burdens on people seeking health care. For the most part, hospitals and clinics are located only in larger towns while nursing stations are situated on reserves farther to the north. While physical health care is available, albeit at a distance, mental health services have been neglected in the north. The Commission was told that planning for north of 50 must consider all health care needs throughout the region.

Distances, Small Population Create Difficulties

Health needs north of 50 are subject to the same pressures as anywhere else in Ontario, but factors of isolation and distance worsen problems. A small, scattered population means that it is not feasible to centralize facilities. Many small clinics and nursing stations are required to provide care relatively quickly to those in need. This necessary spreading out of resources results in unevenness of service, both with regard to physical facilities and personnel.

The Commission found that it is difficult to attract personnel to the more remote areas and even more so to retain them for more than a year or two. Medical staff are subject to culture shock, isolation, heavy responsibility and loneliness. Even the more settled areas find it hard to staff their hospitals and clinics. Lack of social facilities puts these communities at a disadvantage in competing for the services of qualified people.

Basically three types of facilities care for the ill in northern Ontario, hospitals, clinics, and nursing stations.

There are six hospitals north of the 50th parallel in Ontario, two at Sioux Lookout and one each at Red Lake, Fort Albany, Attawapiskat and Moose Factory, with a total of 282 active treatment beds.

One of the hospitals in Sioux Lookout and the hospital in Moose Factory are jointly operated by the federal Department of National Health and Welfare and facilities of medicine and dentistry at the University of Toronto, Queen's and Western. Medical specialists, dentists and interns provide service on a rotating basis. These two federal hospitals, with well over half the beds (160), are used primarily by native people but are available to anyone.

In addition to providing in-hospital treatment, these zone hospitals are also the administrative and supervisory centres for the nursing stations that provide first-care facilities for the people residing in the smaller northern native communities.

The other general hospitals are modest (19 to 44 beds) with the restrictions that smallness implies. There are no specialists on staff, there is little sophisticated diagnostic equipment and there are no innovative treatment procedures. The patient who requires any of these must go further afield, to hospitals south of 50, and in more serious cases, to Toronto or Winnipeg.

There are eight federal nursing stations associated with the Zone Hospitals at Sioux Lookout and Moose Factory. Each is a four- to six-bed hospital/clinic staffed by nurse practitioners, and stocked with equipment to deal with relatively minor medical problems. The nurse practitioners are on call for the satellite clinics in remote areas staffed by non-professional aides.

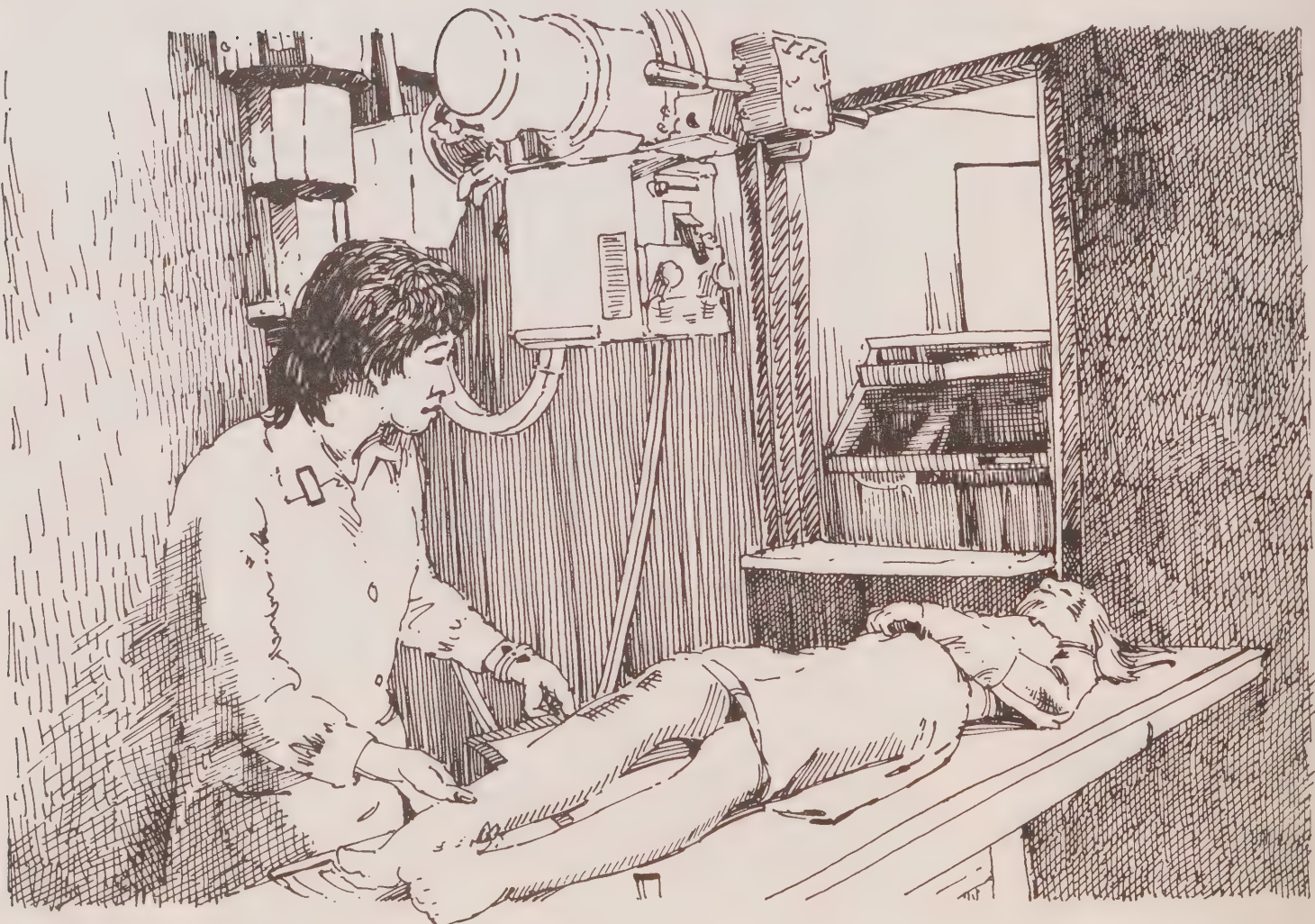
District health councils have been set up across Ontario to provide for greater local input by residents. Three of these operate north of 50: Kenora-Rainy River, Thunder Bay and Cochrane District Health Councils. These councils are provincially appointed voluntary bodies made up of consumers, health providers, local government representatives and representatives of Treaties #3 and #9.

The function of District Health Councils is to identify local needs, evaluate alternatives, establish priorities and plan a comprehensive health program for the district for which each is responsible. All proposals for changes in facilities and services that come from hospitals or other health delivery agencies require endorsement by the appropriate district health council before being considered by the Ministry of Health.

One health council told the Commission that:

"... the manner in which communities develop, whether they are stable, whether poverty is reduced, whether people have decent shelter and enough good food to eat, whether preventable diseases are reduced, whether a community has clean water and a good sewage disposal system, whether all people have the opportunity to express pride and attain goals, and whether people have a reasonable degree of security, will determine the future health of the people of this district to a greater extent than any institutions or professionals could even hope to do."

(Kenora-Rainy River District Health Council, Kenora, p. 2948)



People's Health in Remote Regions Needs Improvement

The quality of health care offered north of 50 is perceived by those who provide it as of high standard but with less than hoped for results. Dr. Gary Goldthorpe, Director of Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, said:

"In spite of the range of the federal government interest over the years and the dedicated nurses in the nursing stations, the range of university qualified teaching staff specialists in all the medical specialties, an increasing dental program with increasing emphasis on preventative measures . . . it is clear to us who work with the Indian people of Sioux Lookout Zone that their health is not as good on average as that of the average Canadian. That is what pretty well all of our indicators point to . . . I am not proud of that . . . and yet I am proud of the medical work and the nursing work that our staff do."

(Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, Sioux Lookout, p. 262)

Native people themselves had complaints about the health care they receive. One of the Pehtabun Chiefs at Sandy Lake said:

"Many communities do not receive the type of health services that they need. We have no hospitals in our area, and must depend on nursing stations to provide for our medical needs. Too often our people find, because of a lack of money or a lack of understanding by our nurses, that those who are seriously ill do not get out to a hospital. This has been the cause of many tragic deaths."

(Bill Mamakeesic, Sandy Lake, p. 2481)

A father expressed his dismay at insensitivity towards a sick child:

"Our little girl was sick. She was really sick. We phoned the nursing station at Sandy Lake and the nurse didn't want to send her out. She said she'd be in the next week. Those nurses don't seem to realize that the sickness doesn't wait around for them to come."

(Arthur Meekis, Sandy Lake, p. 2402)

Traditional Indian medicine still retains a place in their culture:

"I tell you that we cooperate fully with our medical people . . . But when my people have taken pills and taken pills, and the nurses finally say, 'I'm sorry, I have nothing here that can help you,' then the people go back to the old medicine men at Sandy (Lake), whose cures have worked well for many generations."

(Chief Saul Fiddler, Sandy Lake, p. 2418)

One factor in the decline of health of native people is believed to be the change of diet from traditional bush foods to processed "junk" foods now available to the settlements. A nutritionist from the University of Waterloo stated:

"Change from traditional foods to a semi-traditional diet . . . has been associated with increased incidence of various diseases and symptoms. It has been suggested that an abnormal carbohydrate metabolism exists in Indian and Inuit people. Evolutionary adaptation to a high-protein, high-fat diet may have resulted in the inability of some northern native people to correctly metabolize orally ingested sugar or sugar-containing food."

(University of Waterloo, Department of Man-Environment Studies, Toronto, p. 1981)

Many older native people agree wholeheartedly that new dietary patterns are not desirable. Chief Ben Quill said at Sandy Lake:

"Our people have come to rely on canned fruits and vegetables instead of fresh meat and fish. The old people say that the food they buy at the store does not satisfy their bodies, and so they eat fresh fish and meat, and their teeth are strong and sturdy. But our young people eat store food and their teeth are full of holes."

(Pikangikum Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2451)

That native people are less well-off than non-natives in terms of general health is evident:

"In the measurable aspects of health, Sioux Lookout zone Indians are somewhat worse off than the general population of Canada. Infant mortality is still nearly 50 per thousand live births,¹ crude death rate is about the same as Canada's with a younger population. Over one-third of deaths are violent. Certain diseases, such as tuberculosis, infectious hepatitis, scabies, otitis media, dental caries and trauma, have a much higher incidence than in the general population."

(Dr. Gary Goldthorpe, Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., November 1977)

Non-natives in the north share problems of isolation and distance but larger communities, at least, have doctors and clinics, some of them home-grown. A doctor in Ear Falls spoke proudly of what the people of his area had accomplished:

"A cement slab was laid, steel was erected, and now we boast in this township a fully-equipped doctors' and dentists' office complex with lab, x-ray, surgical and other facilities that would make any city doctor

¹This compares with an infant death rate of 15 per thousand live births for Canada, excluding Indians and Eskimos.

turn green with envy . . . Show me any city doctor whose offices were built by volunteer labour and by donations from industry and from children's walkathons and ladies' church groups and the like."

(Dr. Harrison Maynard, Ear Falls, p. 820)

Other areas are considerably less fortunate. A spokesman in Nakina said:

"Our clinic consists of an old building owned by the CNR and located on the side of the railway tracks. Besides being in a state of needing repair, the CNR have plans to demolish this building."

(Improvement District of Nakina, Nakina, p. 1484)

Getting to the doctor, nursing station, clinic or hospital can be a problem, ranging from inconvenient delay to danger to life. Where roads exist, distances are still great and a long ride over a bumpy road while in pain does not make the distance seem less.

The Mayor of Geraldton said:

"Should you be unfortunate enough to get ill, you had best hope that you get ill in the right location in the north. Should you get ill in Nakina and require ambulance transportation . . . you must wait for the ambulance to come 40 miles to bring you down to the hospital . . . Should you then be sufficiently ill to require medical services beyond the capacity of our hospital, you must then face a further drive of 180 miles to Thunder Bay."

(Town of Geraldton, Geraldton, p. 1345)

The areas where roads do not exist, air ambulances have been a great boon to citizens of the far north but have not solved all problems. In Kenora, a bush pilot related some of the difficulties:

"I can remember when the nurses would phone us up and say, 'Look we've got a lady. She's in labour. We've got to get her down to the hospital. There are complications' . . . I've had to tell them at times, 'I'm sorry, I can't go. There's freezing rain. It's below the capabilities of our aircraft . . . I'm sorry. We can't go. It's below the capabilities of the nav-aids available . . . Gee, I'd like to go but I'll bet I'll get violated, for flying out of this airstrip or into another airstrip with no lights!'"

(Bearskin Lake Service Ltd., Kenora, p. 2706)

Breakup and freeze-up times prevent ski and float planes from landing. Evacuation at those times of year can best be facilitated by the use of helicopters.

The Mayor of Geraldton believed that:

"All citizens should have equal access to medical facilities . . . There is only one way this can be done . . . a helicopter ambulance service . . . like the one operating immediately north of Toronto."

(Town of Geraldton, Geraldton, p. 1347)

Cost is another factor which creates problems for people. Chief Ben Quill in Sandy Lake said:

"Now we must pay our own transportation to the hospital. This causes great hardship, particularly for our old people. Going to the hospital from Pikangikum is not the same as going to the hospital in Toronto."

(Pikangikum Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2451)

A resident of Pickle Lake complained:

"Air ambulance is provided in emergency situations . . . The service is paid by OHIP and the patient is released from hospital. OHIP does not assist in the return fare. Return visits to the outside doctors for follow-up are not covered unless an emergency situation develops and air ambulance is required."

(Don McKelvie, Pickle Lake, p. 1638)

In the area of paramedical services, northerners feel short-changed. Older residents of small communities are particularly concerned about the lack of nursing homes, home care services, and other supportive programs, which would allow them to remain where they have spent their lives.

As one immigrant said:

"We came to Geraldton from Finland 40 years ago. We cleared the bush, made the roads, built the houses and now they say we must leave here to die somewhere else."

(Geraldton District Hospital, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., February 1978)

In those communities that have hospitals, active treatment beds are frequently put into use for patients requiring chronic care.

Ancillary services are difficult to come by. For example, a handicapped woman in Kenora stated:

"Services for wheelchairs here in Kenora, are non-existent. If your chair needs repair, it goes to Winnipeg which is approximately 130 miles, or to Thunder Bay, 305 miles. You either borrow a chair or you go to bed until yours is repaired."

(Winnie Magnusson, Kenora, p. 1380)

A Pioneer Club spokeswoman in Geraldton claimed:

"There is no optometrist, therefore, people must travel . . . for glasses or repairs to glasses . . . The local dentist is kept so busy that it is usually faster to make the trip to Thunder Bay for denture repairs . . . Hearing aids are not available in this area, nor is there a hearing clinic held."

(Pioneer Club, Geraldton, p. 1380)

The increased incidence of dental caries was felt by both a Sioux Lookout Zone dentist and a Waterloo University nutritionist to be related to dietary changes, specifically an increased intake of sugar. Free fluoride-vitamin drops or tablets, toothbrushes and paste have all no significant impact. Mobile dental units currently provide initial care to pre-school and elementary school children in remote areas. The Northern Ontario Public Health Service (NOPHS) hopes to increase the number of units to provide maintenance as well as preventative treatment.

A hospital administrator in Geraldton was concerned about the scarcity of dentists, saying:

"The lack of adequate dental care in all our communities is appalling. One overworked dentist in Longlac, plus one part-time dentist in Geraldton, cannot begin to give the necessary dental care. Those who can afford to travel to Thunder Bay do so and those who cannot mainly do without."

(Geraldton District Hospital, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., February 1978)

Mental health facilities do not exist north of 50 although the need for them is clear:

"The increase of mental health problems for this region from the year 1961 to 1977 is noted to be 300 times greater (than for the province as a whole). The increase in suicide in this area for the same time period is noted to be 400 times greater."

(Canadian Mental Health Association, Timmins, p. 2297)

A psychiatrist, affiliated with the Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, remarked:

"High rates of murder, violent death, rates are penal incarceration and recidivism, child abuse and neglect, illegitimacy, poverty, gasoline and solvent sniffing are among the high indices of poor mental health."

(Dr. Gerald Greenbaum, Toronto, p. 2094)

People requiring psychiatric treatment are referred outside the area. When a return home is indicated, follow-up is provided by overworked, overextended public health nurses and the patient's physician.

The Ontario Ministry of Health recognized the problem in saying:

"No mental health facilities exist north of the 50th parallel, although there are some visiting mental services and, of course, there are general hospital beds used for psychiatric purposes."

(Ministry of Health, Toronto, p. 2161)

On the subject of health as on other concerns, the one complaint heard most frequently across the north was the relative powerlessness of the northerner in determining the direction of his life. One measure taken to involve northerners in health care planning and delivery was the establishment of district health councils. The Commission was told by the Cochrane District Health Council that:

"District health councils, of which there are now more than 20 across the province, have been established as a means whereby more decisions in health care matters may be made at the local level. They are voluntary bodies charged with the responsibility for comprehensive health care planning within their respective districts and for advising the Minister of Health on the organization and delivery of health services. Although the district health council mandate is officially discharged through the provincial Ministry of Health, health councils must be able to work cooperatively with federal authorities, as well as with other provincial ministries such as Community and Social Services and Northern Affairs."

'Cochrane District Health Council, Timmins, p. 2325)

Some changes have already occurred:

"The council is only a year and a half old. Most of the councils of Ontario are less than a year old . . . However, 90% of the recommendations of council that have been made, say, in the past year, have been accepted by the government, and some rather significant changes have taken place in terms of where money normally would have gone, and where money actually did go, and that has been demonstrated."

(Kenora-Rainy River District Health Council, Kenora, p. 2950)

One change felt to be necessary was a closer attention to health problems, particularly the impact of expanded industrial development on all aspects of delivery of health care:

"Without a good understanding of the present individual and systems problems, the desire to resolve them, future developments might exacerbate current conditions. Thus, our first and principal recommendation to this Commission is to place equal emphasis on the health and social impact of future development in the district, equal to the examination of environmental and industrial impact."

(Kenora-Rainy River District Health Council, Kenora, p. 2938)



Industrial Development Spells Housing Crisis

Subjected to extremes of weather as they are, northerners consider the provision of adequate shelter for themselves a high priority. The intensity of winter cold is legendary in the area and southern standards in housing are claimed as inapplicable; yet these standards, developed elsewhere, too often are followed in construction of homes in the north. The most frequent complaints about housing were in regard to its short supply and inferiority.

Inadequate Housing and a Shortage of Supply

Viewed from the air, the stark beauty of the north hides the reality of its harsh climate. During the winter, the north's cold is similar to that of southern Baffin Island. While the Canadian environment imposes special demands for adequate housing generally, this need is especially true in northern Ontario. For this reason one would expect that the northern experience in this century would have resulted in an impressive housing stock and in the development of innovative designs. But, unfortunately, this has not generally been true.

Among a catalogue of needs, northerners complained most emphatically to the Commission about inadequate housing and the shortage in supply. Limited design and quality can be found throughout the north and this is most evident in native communities. In remote northern settlements it is usually only the medical and teaching facilities which have running water, bath and toilet facilities. All too often, the southern conceived and manufactured houses found in northern communities fare poorly when compared to the other dwellings, in the area, fewer in number but of northern design and construction.

Industrial expansion of any sort, the Commission was reminded, invariably causes housing shortages. Prices for land and homes, and especially rents, rise significantly. The reverse is true, of course, when industrial activity decreases or ceases altogether. In such circumstances homes, representing a family's largest investment, suddenly become near worthless as their owners move on to find new employment.

Northerners clearly recognize that major factors aggravating their housing problems are the problems created by standards and designs imposed upon them by bureaucrats who, for the most part, live in a different environment. Whereas in southern Ontario underground buried services such as sewer, power and water installations are relatively easily provided, in the north, the Precambrian Shield necessitates the use of great amounts of dynamite and money to effect comparable results. Much to the dismay of northerners, Ontario housing and service standards, which must be met for new housing, are uniform throughout the province, resulting in very high building costs in the north. In fact, merely to service a residential lot can cost in excess of \$20,000.00.

Construction problems in the north are also compounded by the high costs of materials transported from the south and the chronic shortage of full-time skilled labour in the area.

Ironically, even though the north is extremely sparsely populated, a recurrent complaint to the Commission was that there is a shortage of land for housing construction. This seeming contradiction stems from the great uncertainty regarding how and from whom to seek land title, as well as from the confusion regarding province-wide townsite development regulations. Many complained that much Crown land is currently unavailable for housing construction.

As with many things which affect the day-to-day lives of northerners, housing considerations are controlled from outside the north. Southern influences, more than any other factors, say observers, hinder the realization of northern solutions to northern problems.

Housing a Hobbled Industry in the North

In 1978, housing, adequate to take care of local needs, is a high priority concern throughout the province but particularly so for communities in northern Ontario.

In milder climates, shelter from wind, sun and rain, protection from insects and provision for privacy are certainly necessary, desirable and convenient. In northern climates, shelter to sustain life in a frequently hostile environment is essential. And the nature of that shelter reflects strongly on the quality of life available to the northerner. This quality is weakened mainly by shortage, inadequacy and difficulty in procuring land and gaining services. In sum, the Commission learned that housing north of 50 today reflects an inappropriate fit of southern plans and standards to northern realities.

Housing shortage is felt most keenly in those areas which are currently undergoing industrial expansion. A mine spokesman in Red Lake said:

"It is important now, and has been for some time, that Balmertown be expanded to meet the housing requirements of workers and their families. At present, we cannot provide sufficient and conveniently located housing for the number of employees which we require to maintain our existing operation. Eleven employees of the Company right now are without proper housing; eight more require larger accommodation which is unavailable. These demands are over and above the housing requirements of the 15 additional employees which we could and would like to hire at present. We estimate that there is a current requirement of at least 100 more homes in Balmertown."

(Campbell Red Lake Mines, Red Lake, p. 611)

A representative of the Nakina Chamber of Commerce complained that it was difficult to attract professional people to provide needed services:

"We have even had teachers who have been forced to forego the contract because they could find no place to live in Nakina."

(Nakina Chamber of Commerce, Nakina, p. 1515)

A shortage of rental accommodation in the north affects young couples, elderly people, temporary residents and those who cannot afford to purchase homes. Housing is frequently owned by the major employer and retirement from the job also means moving from one's home:

"There is a further element to the housing needs of the area, and that is the desire for housing by retired employees. This might seem, at first glance, to be a secondary problem. But in fact, it must be an important part of any consideration of housing accommodation. Retiring employees have spent most of their lives in the area; most would prefer to stay, rather than leave their homes and friends to relocate elsewhere."

(Campbell Red Lake Mines, Red Lake, p. 614)

A native liaison worker at Pickle Lake said that the quality of housing, while usually adequate for non-natives, is not so for natives:

"Native housing in Pickle Lake is in a class of sub-standard. The majority of native families are living in housing built in the year of 1930 when Central Patricia Gold Mines was at its peak. These homes were abandoned by the employees when the mine closed in 1953. At that time at Umex, two native employees and their families were living in Umex housing. Others lived in makeshift cabins on the perimeter of the community. Three native families spent their winter in camp at the outskirts of Pickle Lake last winter. As a result, one person died from pneumonia. In most populated native communities at Central Patricia, approximately 90% of the native people still haul their drinking water from the Kawanigan River, the same river into which the town sewage treatment plant is dumping its waste."

(Henry Munro, Pickle Lake, p. 1754)

Housing on reserves is often inferior:

"The Indian people moved across the river with the knowledge that they would be receiving new homes with running water. Twenty-one homes were built and running water installed. Our new homes looked good to live in, but today now need replacement. No way can these houses compare with the log houses our forefathers built. Those were stronger and warmer."

(Mattagami Reserve, Timmins, p. 1108)

Native groups are attempting to improve the quality of their homes. The Summer Beaver community of Fort Hope Band reported proudly:

"This community is quite unique in that all of the buildings on the reserve are constructed from logs."

(Chief Charlie Okeese, Geraldton, p. 1369)

An architect in Sioux Lookout presented photographs to the Commission depicting native attempts to upgrade their buildings through the use of indigenous materials:

"This house was built in 1975 by the native people using local materials in an attempt to develop some sort of relationship to the culture and the use of natural materials . . . Northern Ontario can really get into and really begin to look at their own vernacular and get out of this hodgepodge of temporary looking shacks. When you look at the northern communities . . . right across northern Ontario, the expression is temporary and impermanent; and a log building, in my belief, is not something temporary. It is indicative of character that is going to last for generations to come."

(Michael Quince, Sioux Lookout, p. 358)

The third problem, that of land acquisition, is made difficult because of red tape. Many complaints were voiced to the Commission about the irrelevance of southern considerations in acquiring land on which to build:

"It is almost impossible to obtain even the most simple severance in less than six months. We feel that there must be some way land transactions can be expedited. Why should we in the northwest have to travel all the way to Toronto to try and expedite land transactions?"
(Improvement District of Pickle Lake, Pickle Lake, p. 1673)

One northern resident exploded:

"I operate an agency at Savant Lake and I have a man down there who works for me, and he has a wife and child and I have a house trailer for him. And do you think I can get any place to set it up? And there is more red tape and bullshit that goes through the government."
(Stan Werbiski, Pickle Lake, p. 1745)

A particular bone of contention is the restriction on the use of Crown land. A spokesman for the Red Lake Businessmen's Association complained:

"One thing that this area abounds in is free space. There is land almost everywhere you look, undeveloped land, and yet for the residents of this area one of the more difficult things to do is to obtain your own piece of property on which to erect your own home or business. The reason for this hardship is a government policy which, in essence, freezes the sale of all Crown land. In an area which has been developed for less than 50 years, the amount of freehold land that was available before the policy was invoked was very minimal. It is my view that the unavailability of Crown land is a severe deterrent to the legitimate hopes and aspirations of many longtime and permanent residents of this region."

(Red Lake Businessmen's Association, Red Lake, p. 690)

In Geraldton, the Lake Nipigon Metis Association said:

"(Housing) could be assisted by simply letting people of the north have the right to have title to Crown land. We want land on a controlled basis so we wouldn't have to squat on land. Squatters are responsible for building tar paper shacks, because they are in fear of Natural Resources telling them to move and having their little shacks burnt."

(Lake Nipigon Metis Association, Geraldton, p. 1389)

Other people would prefer to live outside the communities to cut costs:

"When development takes place, land becomes even more difficult to obtain. In most cases the only land available is within established communities where the building codes, costs of servicing lots, building of roads, etc., make the cost of the building of a home prohibitive. Some of us prefer to live simply, on unserviced land outside of established communities."

(Ear Falls Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Ear Falls, p. 838)

People who work the land cannot afford a home on it:

"Some of our people have been cutting trees in the bush for years, and today they cannot afford to buy the lumber to build a small house when they also have to buy a small piece of land to put it on. Before, we often built on unorganized land; today, the government policy does not allow this right."

(Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Kenora, p. 2639)

The Red Lake Businessmen's Association reminded the Commission that the reason unorganized land comes cheaper is that it is also unserviced land. Land servicing, especially when it must conform to standards designed for greatly different terrain, is expensive:

"That this area is uniquely different from southern Ontario should be self-evident. And yet, we are subject to precisely the same standards, criteria and methods for developing municipal services for the delivery of water and for the removal of waste and sewage as in southern Ontario. And this works a real hardship to this region in that the cost of providing services of a similar nature to those found in southern Ontario is exorbitant up here due to the fact that we have an absolute minimum of topsoil and overburden and we must blast our way through bedrock to install these services."

(Red Lake Businessmen's Association, Red Lake, p. 691)

Water and sewage systems are a major pre-occupation:

"We live in the Shield area of the province. Housing rules made for southern Ontario are not necessarily good for us. A point for example would be the provision of water and sewers. Our town site of Madsen has operated for over 30 years using a utilidor above ground system for water and sewer services. We have had less problems and shut-offs than Red Lake which is forced to operate on a buried system according to federal and provincial housing regulations. We live on top of rock. To bury something 15 to 18 feet takes a lot of dynamite."

(Madsen Community Association, Red Lake, p. 543)

A small expansion in northern towns calls for unbearable cost:

"Urban standards, however appropriate they may be elsewhere, are extremely expensive and cannot be economically justified in a town of relatively small population. Some time ago, the expansion of Balmer town was considered — an increase of approximately 200 houses. Planning authorities, however, required an outlay for a sewage plant of about \$1.7 million which could not be justified in a town of 1,200 people."

(Campbell Red Lake Mines, Red Lake, p. 612)

At Kenora, the Royal Commission listened to a brief by the Unorganized Communities Association of Northwestern Ontario (UCANO-West). This group's indictment of southern standards was representative of the frustration and anger of many people in the north, increasingly intolerant of imposed solutions:

"Nor do we dispute the need for standards of buildings, water supply, and sewage disposal. But we must dispute the inapplicability of urban, high density, and southern standards to remote, often impoverished and geographically unique communities such as ours. That inane and unrealistic burden it places upon us, is as startlingly clear to those who live here, as it is clearly startling to those who enforce it."

(UCANO-West, Kenora, p. 2992)



Recreational Facilities, Programs Lacking

Recreation, particularly outdoor sports, is a valued part of northern Ontario life. Yet recreational facilities are sorely lacking in small communities. There are discouraging limits to local resources, both from the municipal tax base and from industrial and private donors. Speakers at the Commission's hearings felt that the special recreational needs of the north should be addressed more generously by agencies of the provincial and federal governments.

If "Inside" Could Match "Outdoors" . . .

Perhaps nowhere as much as in the north do Ontarians speak so lovingly of the land, its aesthetics and its recreational appeal. The Commission was told by northerners that they are surrounded by beauty and enriched by nature. The feathery tamaracks, the rustling birches, the upright pines, the sparkling waters, the blue sky, all bespeak serenity and relaxation. But, the Commission was also told, one must have more than landscape to fulfill one's recreational needs. The need for a good time with one's friends, or the restoration of one's spirit often calls for social occasions, events and activities.

In their natural setting, northerners have provided themselves with many outlets for rest and relaxation (some considerably less restful than others).

Outdoor recreation in both summer and winter is enhanced by easy access to the bush. If a crowded sandy beach is not to someone's liking, he can travel a very short distance to find an isolated lake for himself or for a party of friends. If he wants to fish or hunt, he has at his doorstep what many outsiders voyage hundreds of miles to find.

In winter there is always enough snow for the avid skier or snowmobiler. Even very small communities can provide a skating surface. The intense cold ensures that water will freeze quickly and smoothly. Organized winter sports such as hockey are widely supported in the north.

The out-doors is also exploited at festival times. Natives and non-native communities alike organize outings to attract their own residents and those from other areas. Barbecues, corn roasts, baseball games, track and field events, fiddle contests and dancing all contribute greatly to the enjoyment of those in attendance. Native groups also add such activities as duck plucking, canoe racing and arm wrestling.

Indian pow-wows of dancing, drumming and singing pass on cultural traditions from generation to generation. These events are a social get-together for Indian people while providing an opportunity for non-native observers to become acquainted with Indian customs.

When it comes to the pursuit of cultural and indoor forms of recreation, however, the north is less well supplied with resources. While local groups may form amateur theatrical organizations, professional companies do not often tour the far north. While local people sing and play music, professional concerts occur infrequently.

Libraries, art galleries and museums north of 50 tend to be rarities and limited in scope. The Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation has instituted the Outreach Ontario and Festival Ontario programs to promote art shows, science exhibits, lectures, demonstrations, film festivals and historical displays in conjunction with community groups. The Art Gallery of Ontario, the Science Circus of the Ontario Science Centre, the Royal Botanical Gardens, and the Royal Ontario Museum have all participated in attempts to expand their services to northern Ontarians. The difficulty of transporting materials has, however, tended to restrict expansion to the larger centres just south of 50.

The low revenues from the small tax base of northern communities provide little or no financial help in the provision of recreational facilities and services. Northerners called upon the provincial government to develop special policies to help set them on an equal footing with the rest of Ontario.



Where Need Greatest—Least Being Done

The most frequent comments made about recreation to the Commission concerned the lack of adequate facilities. Repeatedly, northerners complained that their communities lacked even basic equipment in a region where isolation and climate make leisure time facilities particularly crucial to the social, physical and mental well-being of its inhabitants.

Clearly, the major obstacle inhibiting construction of recreational facilities is the lack of funds. In many small northern communities, an adequate local tax base required to fund recreation simply does not exist.

Without an industrial tax base it is impossible for the residents of a small community to raise enough money, and it becomes necessary to turn to the government for assistance:

"The people of Moosonee have commenced a fund-raising drive for the purpose of erecting an arena and curling club in town with an artificial ice surface. The estimated cost of such a facility is approximately \$900,000.00. The government of Ontario had indicated a financial interest in this proposed arena. However, it will still be necessary for a private fund-raising drive to generate approximately \$400,000.00 in donations if ever this arena is to be built. For Moosonee and its residents, this is an almost insurmountable task. Even assuming that such a facility could be built, it will be a strain on the meager tax base of the town to provide adequate maintenance for the arena."

(James Bay Education Centre, Moosonee, p. 3134)

Recreation is seen not as a luxury but as a necessity both in attracting inhabitants and keeping them happy once they are there:

"To a town as far north and as isolated from large centres as Nakina is, recreation becomes vital. A small town with a growing population can attract workers of quality only if the prospective workers are able to see the possibility of freedom from boredom in off duty hours."

(Terrence Brian Swanson, Nakina, p. 1565)

Thus, isolation combined with climate make recreational facilities much more important in the north than they are in the south, where they are abundant:

"The needs of the residents of the Tri-Municipal community for a large number and variety of recreational facilities are related to the isolation and the long winter period. The need for buildings and programs is probably greater than those in southern communities. The maintenance of sound and stable community life is related to these facilities."

(Tri-Municipal Committee, Red Lake, p. 474)

The therapeutic value of recreation, both physically and mentally, was recognized. Swimming in particular was recognized as beneficial, but the northern climate limits outdoor swimming severely:

"There is not a single public swimming pool north of the 50th parallel in the province of Ontario . . . I am not referring to 50-meter pools like you will find on the campus of Lakehead University or even 25-meter pools that you will find in Fort Frances and Atikokan. I am talking about small but useful teaching pools that can provide therapy and relaxation for the people north of the 50th parallel. We have approximately 20 good swimming days per year in Sioux Lookout."

(Howard Lockhart, Sioux Lookout, p. 335)

It was felt that if adequate facilities existed, people would get involved, whether participating or organizing, and a great social need would be filled:

"Here in Moosonee, a great deal more people would be involved in the programs offered if only we were to have a decent facility in which to participate. With a regulation size arena, we would have more people socially involved, whether it be in recreational activities or just to sit on various committees. Recreation is a very high priority in this community but there is a great lack of funds for it. Recreation is a must here because of the very high unemployment problem."

(Moosonee Recreation Committee, Moosonee, p. 3173)

In some instances, however, the mere existence of recreation facilities did not automatically involve people. Native people living in or near the predominantly white communities of the north felt cut off from what recreation activities did exist:

"In terms of social recreational facilities, they are practically non-existent in the Pickle Lake area. When any recreation activities come in, non-natives seem to dominate the activities and many natives seem reluctant to even participate. Last year marked the first time that the Osnaburgh and Pickle Lake natives participated in the Pickle Lake and Savant Lake broomball tournaments. The main and the only source of recreation for the residents of the native community has narrowed down to local beer parlours, liquor outlets, although excessive consumption of alcohol is common through a cross-section of all residents."

(Henry Munro, Pickle Lake, p. 1755)

In response to this problem a Native Community Centre is being built jointly by natives and non-natives of Pickle Lake:

"It's going to organize recreational and social programs for native residents, for everybody, visitors of all ages."

(Henry Munro, Pickle Lake, p. 1757)

In isolated native communities which are not adjacent to white communities, recreation facilities have been minimal to non-existent:

"In the past, there has been no real recreation in isolated Indian communities in northwestern Ontario. Recreation has been limited basically to hockey and baseball over the past few years. The children of these communities learn to skate on river and lake ice. There have been no facilities, no equipment and little or no money available to these communities to develop social, cultural and recreational programs . . . In some communities there are no buildings for recreation purposes. Out of the 23 bands, approximately 75% do not have dressing rooms or adequate recreation facilities. For example, at Big Grassy Reserve, the children ride in a water truck to and from hockey practices, approximately 40 miles return."

(Treaty # 3, brief entitled Recreation submitted to the R.C.N.E., p. 1)

The problem of transportation to sports events is an issue not limited only to native communities. The great distances between towns in the north make organization difficult and travel costs almost prohibitive:

"The sport and athletic development of our young people is seriously hampered, or becomes nonexistent because of our isolation and travel expense."

(Howard Lockhart, Sioux Lookout, p. 336)

Not only are transportation costs higher in the north, but so are the maintenance costs of what facilities do exist. Energy costs, in particular, are extremely high:

"With the ever-increasing energy costs to what few indoor recreational facilities do exist above or near the 50th parallel, serious consideration is being given to curtailing or even eliminating activities in existing facilities . . . I wish I could give you a breakdown in the increase in our costs in our Memorial Arena here. And it is not a heated building, we heat only the portion we work in and the lobby. The problems are that here in Sioux Lookout we have a low tax base. We have no tax, or primarily industry tax base, in the town of Sioux Lookout."

(Howard Lockhart, Sioux Lookout, p. 335)

Many northern communities felt that the financial assistance they received from the government did not fully recognize the specific needs and difficulties associated with recreation in the north:

"In Northern Ontario, the Ministry of Culture and Recreation's grants for operational and salary costs are much the same as in southern Ontario where the costs would be much less and fund-raising is much easier. Grants should be increased for communities in northern Ontario. Wintario grants should also be increased because of the lack of fund-raising again."

(Moosonee Recreation Committee, Moosonee, p. 3174)

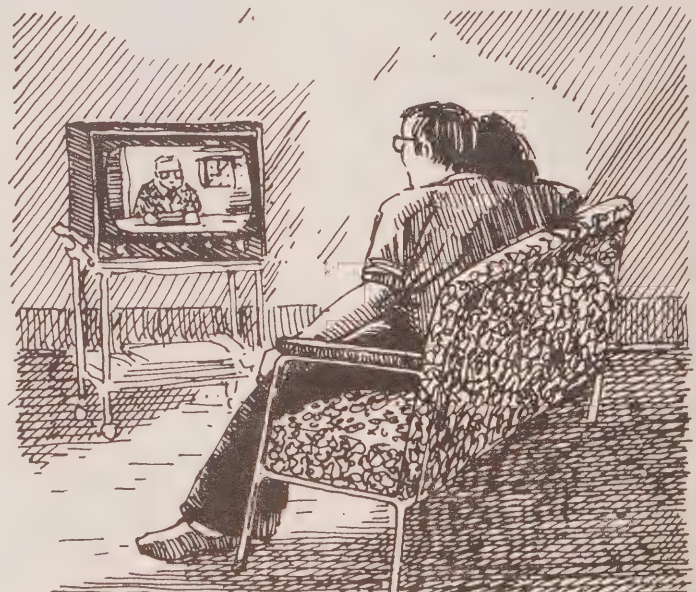
There were also complaints about recreational facilities having to meet southern regulations which are either not relevant in the north or else increase costs exorbitantly. Residents of Nakina urged that their curling rink was a victim of such circumstances.

"Due to a study made far in the south of our province using southern statistics regarding snowfall and humidity, our curling rink has been closed . . . We agree that safety is important, but the criteria should be clearly established with due respect to northern conditions."

(Terrence Brian Swanson, Nakina, p. 1567)

Another case where northerners felt that they were hard done by as a result of southern-made regulations was a 1976 amendment to the Ontario Mining Tax Act. The ruling disallowed as tax deductions "social expenditures" made by mining companies. Previously, expenses by mining companies on recreational and housing facilities in northern towns were deemed deductible expenses. When tax deductions for such purposes were no longer allowed, construction of these facilities by mining companies was curtailed.

Happily, at least in the above instance, the south was listening. The 1978 Ontario budget proposed that operating and maintenance costs of social assets once again be allowed as a deduction, while depreciation on social assets would continue to be disallowed.



Transportation and Survival Synonymous in North

From the waterways and railways which traditionally opened the north, to the roads and airlines which presently serve northern Ontario, transportation is a dominant aspect of northern living. The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment heard many submissions about transportation-related problems, about the high cost of travel and freight, about air safety and the lack of rail service to isolated settlements.

By What Means and at What Cost?

Whatever form it takes, transportation is a major concern and preoccupation for northerners. Many residents, for example, are nearly totally dependent on air service. People on northern reserves rely on airplanes, not only in medical emergencies but for delivery of goods and equipment and for access to the outside world.

Concern about air safety was widely expressed. The Commission was told that greater safety precautions are taken in northern Manitoba than in Ontario, and that the Ontario provincial agencies, such as the Ministry of Transportation and Communications, are prevented from intervening on this question. The federal government department, Transport Canada, has jurisdiction over air safety while the Ontario Ministry of Transportation and Communications assists communities in building and maintaining airstrips and supplying infrastructures.

Questions arising from rail service policies, another federal responsibility, were also brought to the attention of the Commission. In 1977, the federal government announced the establishment of a new venture, Via Rail, which would combine the CN and CP railways to provide more efficient service for Canadians.

Many northern residents told the Commission how important the existing CN line was in their area, enabling them to obtain medical attention, goods and services which would otherwise be unavailable — or certainly not quickly procurable.

The Commission was reminded that surface travel in northern Ontario requires a variety of machine-powered vehicles such as snowmobiles, boats and trucks. Yet the cost of gasoline, \$4.00 a gallon on the James Bay coast, can be prohibitive.

The winter maintenance of northern roads was criticized. Current highway neglect was a topic for irony, described by some as an ingenious method of providing rest stops at the side of the road by allowing the driver and car to slide off the icy surface into the ditch. The Commission was reminded that some northerners went to jail to protest the government's ban on studded tires a few years ago. The Commission was asked why separate and relevant standards, appropriate to the north, cannot be established.

Through the good offices of the Commission, northerners said they hoped to impress governments to consider urgently measures to ensure the safety, reliability and reasonable cost of transportation in the north.

Location Presents A Transportation Problem

In an area as vast as Ontario north of 50, transportation modes have shaped development patterns, determined the location of many communities and affected the degree of isolation in which their residents live.

The Northeastern Ontario Municipalities Action Group told the Commission of its conviction that transportation was the key to the future of the north:

"If we can solve the movement of people by modern yet economic means at rates, facilities and services which look after the needs of all sectors of that population, we will thus bring amenities to our people to aid them to live here and stay to develop this great resource land. If we can solve the abnormally high freight costs experienced by this region, we will remove one of the main bars that has heretofore made us uncompetitive with other areas, not only in expanding the employment base which we already have (and which is not growing), and not only providing a tool to bring about more future employment in new areas, but also as a means to reduce some of the costs of living in the north. Our future hinges on improvements in the transportation of people and goods."

(Northeastern Ontario Municipalities Action Group, Timmins, p. 2333)

While the future may hinge on improvements in transportation, the present has certainly been affected by past transportation patterns. A significant factor in the settlement pattern of the north was the railway which stretched from east to west close to the 50th parallel. Built in 1915, the National Transcontinental later became part of the Canadian National system. Along the line, settlements appeared, many almost entirely populated by railway employees. For these communities the railway was their lifeline, and would continue to be even after other industries located along the railway. It is ironic that, as one northerner put it:

"The initial penetration of the region by the railway construction brought its development essentially by default in that the purpose was merely to traverse the area on the way west."

(Northwestern Ontario Associated Chambers of Commerce, Sioux Lookout, p. 134)

Nevertheless, the railway gave birth to a number of small yet permanent communities, although only Sioux Lookout and Nakina continue as railway operating centres today. And while the smaller hamlets along the line have lost much of their role in railway servicing, they have not lost their dependence on the railway for a link to the outside world or between communities. It is for this reason that the people of northwestern Ontario reacted with distress to the announcement in 1977 that

daily transcontinental service on this northern CN line would be discontinued. Via Rail had been created by the federal government to combine the services provided by CN and CP in the interests of more efficient train travel. Northerners were not pleased with the verdict, arguing their much-used rail service would be lost while the service would be rerouted:

"... where it will parallel all of the already existing train services, bus services, other road services and air services."

(Northwestern Ontario Associated Chambers of Commerce, Sioux Lookout, p. 138)

Or as a CN employee put it:

"Now we find ourselves back in a position, here in Sioux Lookout and down as far as Armstrong and Nakina and Hornepayne and Foleyet, right down to Capreol, then west of us, of course, from Sioux Lookout to Redditt and then into Winnipeg, where there aren't any buses or there aren't any airlines travelling unless we wish to go to Dryden, to drive over there, that we now find Via Rail is going to utilize the CPR tracks... I think that Via Rail should be taking a closer look at the population who are not being serviced by other means of communication or travel."

(Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Division 654, Sioux Lookout, p. 322)

Not only would people be inconvenienced by the curtailment of transcontinental service, it was argued, but serious social impacts would be felt as well. According to the Ontario Native Women's Association, native people would be particularly affected:

"The CNR has a great impact on our lives and our people. It is our main link with the rest of the province. Our family life is and has been dependent upon the CNR passenger service as long as it has been in existence. It is also our livelihood as our resources are so limited that we are forced to use it for our communication, transportation, economic, social, health and welfare, education. Our question is what will become of these people? Are decision-makers aware of the consequences?"

(Ontario Native Women's Association, Geraldton, p. 1325)

A woman in Sioux Lookout told the Commission that decrease in rail services would mean unemployment for her family:

"I have four sons and a husband working on the railroad, and three probably will be affected by this run-through or taking off the passenger service."

(Laura Switzer, Sioux Lookout, p. 158)

Some, like the Town of Sioux Lookout, were relatively optimistic, however:

"In transportation, we want to see the town's role as a major rail traffic point continue. We anticipate reinstatement of daily rail passenger service as oil prices drive personal motoring and air travel back into the luxury bracket."

(Town of Sioux Lookout, Sioux Lookout, p. 35)

Discontinuation of railway service, however, is not the only issue of concern to northerners with respect to the railway. Many complained about rail freight rates which they claimed were detrimental to balanced industrial development of the north. As Ed Deibel of the Northern Ontario Heritage Party described it:

"The system of freight rates within Canada operates so as to frustrate, to a considerable degree, our regional development programs. This results from the practice of charging lower freight rates to transport bulk, low value, unprocessed raw materials and charging higher rates as the degree of processing and manufacturing increases. This practice has two effects. Firstly, it has the effect of encouraging shipments of relatively unprocessed, raw materials from the producing region, thereby rendering it difficult to establish processing and fabrication facilities in the region, and that is applying direct to northern Ontario. Secondly, it has the effect of increasing the cost of shipments from other areas of the country to that region, thereby undermining all efforts to establish processing and fabrication facilities, or indeed establishing secondary manufacturing in northern Ontario."

(Northern Ontario Heritage Party, Timmins, p. 1034)

The Member of the Legislature for Cochrane South, Alan Pope, also felt that a re-examination of the freight rate structure was called for:

"Whether or not it is time to examine a new concept of the bearing of transportation costs, and there are various concepts which I assume will have access to things like unit freight system, I believe a review of the structure itself will be in order as well as the rates . . . One of the probable consequences would probably be the complete reversal of the freight rate structure, so that it would almost penalize shipment of raw materials south rather than finished materials south."

(Alan Pope, MPP, Timmins, p. 2356)

Some northerners believed that if the provincial government were to take a more active role in rail transport in the north, matters could be greatly improved and saw the Ontario Northland Transportation Commission as a model for this:

"Ontario Northland is a transportation system that is owned and operated by the province of Ontario. Supposedly it is the people's system. What reason can be advanced for not extending this system into the north-western part of our province? I am sure the extension of this system could help to provide the incentives that are necessary for industry to locate in our area of the province."

(Town of Geraldton, Geraldton, p. 1343)

Another northwesterner urged the same thing:

"The Ontario Northland Railway played a major role in opening up the northeastern portion of Ontario for mining, lumbering and farming. This expansion nurtured the many support industries that have flourished and grown until they were no longer totally relying on the original industry that caused them to be born. If the Ontario Northland Railway had also branches in the northwest, this industrial growth would surely have followed a similar course and would be a bright element for the economy in the northwest. Although many years overdue, it is not too late for this transportation network."

(John Evans, Geraldton, p. 1433)

While the people in the northwest were envious of the Ontario Northland service in the northeast, there was some indication that the people in the northeast felt that the system could be expanded and improved:

"At present the Ontario Northland Transportation Commission operates the rail facilities between Moosonee and North Bay whereas the CNR operates the facilities between Hearst and Cochrane and between North Bay and Toronto. The federal government and its agencies, such as the CNR, continually tell us that their interests lie in an east-west direction across the whole of Canada. If the Ontario government was to acquire running rights for all purposes over these north-south rail facilities, all of which belong to all of the people as governmental assets, we would at least have an opportunity to ensure that movement of people and goods would have less hurdles to overcome towards an objective of maximum efficiency, at minimum cost, than with the present hopscotch operation between two governments."

(Northeastern Ontario Municipalities Action Group, Timmins, p. 2335)

Problems with freight rates and jurisdictional questions are not restricted to rail transport. Truck transport also poses problems in this respect:

The experts tell us that the main reason why our (truck) freight costs are higher than elsewhere is because of a lack of competition and excessive regulation. The time has come, in our view, where there is

no further need to regulate highway carriers, but to let the marketplace dictate fair prices and service. The fact that there has been close regulation of carriers has resulted in less competition and, thereby the possibility that our freight costs are being held at artificially high levels."

(Northeastern Ontario Municipalities Action Group, Timmins, p. 2335)

A particularly inefficient aspect of truck transport in the north is the high incidence of empty back-haul. This is partially a function of regulation — private carriers are allowed to carry only their own goods, usually resulting in an empty back-haul for lack of a return load. However, it is also a result of the limited highway network in the north. People in the Red Lake-Balmertown area were anxious to have a road built through to Winnipeg, one of the benefits of which would be:

"Freight rates would be reduced. The problem now is that there is very little back-haul and thus the present high rates to compensate for lack of revenue on return trips."

(Red Lake Businessmen's Association, Red Lake, p. 581)

The desire for a highway west to Winnipeg was a popular one in the Red Lake area:

"Costs of essential commodities are reflected in haulage per mile rate with dead-haul empty return. It seems this situation could be eased by a highway westward from Red Lake to connect with Highway 315 to Winnipeg and eliminate the dead-haul and the energy crisis that exists."

(Ormond Sharpe, Red Lake, p. 711)

Empty back-haul is a two-way problem, affecting both the bringing in of commodities and the sending out of raw or semi-processed products. Spruce Falls Power and Paper Co. stressed the high freight costs it faces, both rail and truck:

"In addition . . . truck transport provides many of our competitors with lower distribution costs. There is insufficient truck traffic to our area to result in an extensive back-haul truck movement, so these rates must remain high."

(Spruce Falls Power and Paper Co., Timmins, p. 1174)

Apart from the movement of goods on the highways of the north, most northerners were concerned about the movement of people. Many condemned the condition and extent of existing roads. Highway 584 between Geraldton and Nakina came under particular attack:

"I hate to be sarcastic, but it seems to be the only mode of address suitable to the subject of winter tra-

vel on Highway 584. That stretch of road between Geraldton and Nakina has to be the longest skate-athon route in the world. Praise must be extended to the Ministry of Transportation and Communications for the ingenious method they have of making rest-points. Simply allow vehicles to slide off the road and pack down the offending snow. Hopefully, the ministry will find a little sand in northern Ontario so that they no longer have to import it from California."

(Terrence Brian Swanson, Nakina, p. 1569)

Sand and gravel are everywhere but there is little used on icy northern roads, according to another northerner:

"Northern Ontario is a virtual storehouse of sand and gravel. As a matter of fact, there are gravel pits here at Nakina. And yet we cannot get sand and gravel put on our roads in the winter time. If you complain to the Ministry of Transportation about it, they say, 'We have a quota. Only so much sand is allowed for the roads and we may not exceed that amount.' It is almost as though sand were a valuable commodity or a rare item in the north; and it isn't. Why do they have to have quotas for the northern usage, especially when icy conditions are so severe? Highway 584 is our main link with the outside world right now and it is vital to the progress of the community that that link be maintained in the best condition possible."

(Nakina Chamber of Commerce, Nakina, p. 1521)

Complaints with respect to road conditions were not limited to Nakina:

"This year I have not seen any salt on the roads. Could this be due to a salt cut back in southern Ontario? Why is the salt cut back? Because it affects the lawns and orchards in southern Ontario. Believe me, you won't see any orchards or lawns along Highway 599. There are salt cutbacks for all of Ontario. Standards which class our only road of escape as a snow-packed maintenance and tell us we can't use studded tires because they tear up the pavement. What pavement? These are prime examples of the fact that people sitting behind a desk in Toronto who cannot visualize what northwestern Ontario looks like, to say anything of Pickle Lake, should not be making the rules and regulations for this area."

(Rhys Rissman, Pickle Lake, p. 1769)

Better roads were seen as a way to reduce high transportation costs:

"There is, and has been, a growing feeling of residents of northern Ontario that the revenue realized by the . . . Treasury Department should be returned in a greater measure in the form of road construction to ease the excessive transportation costs which obtain here."

(Mayor of Smooth Rock Falls, Timmins, p. 2316)

In urban communities in the south, residents have the option of using public transport. Northerners have little choice but to drive a private car or take a taxi — a costly but commonplace mode of transport in the north. A senior citizen in Geraldton described the hardships this imposes:

"There is no public transportation in smaller communities, yet people must pick up their mail because there is no mail delivery. Government subsidizes public transportation in cities, therefore the government should lower the gasoline tax in smaller communities where they do not subsidize public transportation . . . Elderly and handicapped people have a very difficult time getting around during the long cold winter months, usually from October till May. The high price of gasoline makes taxi service expensive for those living on fixed incomes. Elderly people in cities usually ride the government-subsidized public transportation system free of charge. The government should try to equalize local transportation opportunities to small communities."

(Geraldton Senior Citizens, Geraldton, p. 1381)

While non-native northerners called for more and better roads, many native people expressed apprehension regarding the effect of roads on previously isolated native communities. Such roads appear to have contributed to social problems. The Chief of Grassy Narrows Reserve described what the coming of the road meant to that community:

"In 1960 the Jones Road was built and came near the reserve. . . The accessible road to Kenora brought problems, many problems. Even though our people had liquor permits, a limit of intoxicants you can buy, it did not stop taxi drivers from bootlegging and coming on the reserve . . . The Jones Road broke the isolation factor which helped the preservation of a way of life."

(Grassy Narrows Reserve, Whitedog, p. 2791)

Moosonee is now faced with the possibility of a road linking it to the rest of Ontario, and the predominantly native population is of mixed opinions on whether such a road is desirable:

"Many of the native Cree population are not enthusiastic about the building of the road. They feel that it would be the end of tranquility as it is known today in the Lowlands. They feel it would be the end of their beautiful and precious wilderness. On the other side of the coin, many people, including teachers, feel that the road would help to dispel a feeling of differentness, of not belonging to the rest of Ontario, of isolation, of almost a fear of venturing beyond Moosonee because of the difficulty and expense of returning to visit family and friends."

(James Bay Education Centre, Moosonee, p. 3140)

Air transport, on the other hand, is an area in which native people are anxious to see expanded and improved service. The extent to which remote northern communities are dependent on the airplane was explained to the Commission:

"Our communities have no roads; we are dependent on the airplane beyond the range of our boats and skidoos. Airplane service is not cheap. It costs about the same to fly the 275 miles from Sioux Lookout to Big Trout Lake as it costs to fly from Toronto to Thunder Bay, a distance more than three times as far, so that we must charter planes to reach the smaller communities. Flying is dependent on weather, as you are sure to learn when you come to visit us. Even in clear weather our smaller communities without airstrips are isolated for several weeks during freeze-up and break-up."

(Wa-Wa-Ta Native Communications Society, Moosonee, p. 3204)

In Sandy Lake, frustration was expressed about the lack of say that Indian people have in the air services they receive:

"Too many decisions are made without even asking us how we feel about it. We have two daily flights from Sioux Lookout to Sandy Lake, but they arrive at exactly the same time. Until recently we had direct flights to and from Big Trout Lake two or three times a week. This was good for two of the largest communities in the district to be connected this way. Suddenly, without asking us, this service got dropped; and now, in order to get from Sandy Lake to the Western Regional Office of Treaty # 9 which covers our area, it takes two days."

(Sandy Lake Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2420)

Native people are not the only ones frustrated by the licencing arrangements of the federal government. Northern air carriers also expressed their disfavour with licencing decisions. For example, Slate Falls Airways described how two years before they had applied for a Class II licence¹ to fly between Sioux Lookout, Dryden, Pickle Lake, Big Trout Lake, Round Lake, Sandy Lake, Pikangikum and Red Lake. In September 1977, they received a negative decision:

"The loser in this decision was not Slate Falls Airways but the many Ojibway-Cree peoples of the north, plus the doctors and nurses and other peoples who must travel into the north to dispense their services. Mr. Commissioner, I say with full belief that the Federal Air Transport Committee does not know the licencing needs of northwestern Ontario."

(Slate Falls Airways, Sioux Lookout, p. 217)

¹An air carrier holding this licence must, under all conditions, except for reasons of maintenance or poor weather, fly his published route regardless of the amount of traffic.

Patricia Air Transport asserted that overlicencing in northern Ontario makes it impossible to develop an efficient and rational air service network:

"It is our contention that with the granting of excessive unit toll and passenger licences, that the existing carriers cannot provide sophisticated machinery and a more comprehensive delivery system because of the rather limited and restricted market that we supply . . . Presently there are six competing airline companies, all vying for their share of the market in northwestern Ontario."

(Patricia Air Transport Ltd., Sioux Lookout, p. 317)

Licencing practises were not the only thing for which the federal government was criticized. It was generally felt that concerns over air safety in the remote north were a result more of lack of navigational aids, weather reporting and airport facilities than any negligence on the part of northern bush pilots. The federal government has the responsibility to install such equipment, and there was considerable resentment expressed, both by northern pilots and their customers at the federal government's inaction in this respect. The Ontario Northland Transportation Commission, a provincially-owned and operated transportation system, spoke about the situation:

"In the north, and particularly the further north you get, it suffers from an appalling lack of adequate navigational aids, weather facilities and all-weather day-night airports . . . I think for the first time the federal authority is slowly coming around to the belief that the density related criteria used in southern Canada to justify expenditures must be altered to fit the special needs of northern Ontario."

(Ontario Northland Transportation Commission, Pickle Lake, p. 1623)

And on air safety:

"As we all know there has been much hand-wringing and finger-pointing of late and accusations have been made and there is much talk of investigations . . . Notwithstanding the individual merits of these things, this inquisitorial approach to the problem-solving, in our view, is like the man who uses sandpaper to remove a spot caused by measles. It is neither effective nor cosmetic. Air carriers at present are struggling as best they can against the primitive environment and often unfair and unpredictable monopolies. Like the frontier doctor operating without facilities, these operators deserve understanding and not abuse, in our view."

(Ontario Northland Transportation Commission, Pickle Lake, p. 1625)

This feeling of concern for local air transportation operators was shared by other northerners:

"I think it is time that the press and others laid off the local air transportation operators because I know I spent 17 years in this area and for 12 of those years I relied daily on aircraft, and I can very definitely say that the air service that we have now is much improved over what we had in 1960. There is a long way to go yet, but I do believe that a large part of the improvements cannot come about until such time as the airports are brought up to standard with the rest of the ground facilities going along with it."

(Improvement District of Pickle Lake, Pickle Lake, p. 1680)

The provincial Ministry of Transportation and Communications has undertaken the construction of airstrips in remote northern communities. A program providing for 14 airstrips is nearing completion. The ministry maintained, however, that the provision of navigational aids and other aviation equipment remains the responsibility of the federal government. A bush pilot with Bearskin Airways described the situation to the Commission:

"As the Ministry of Transportation and Communications has built more runways in northern Ontario, the northern Ontario operators have more than kept pace by going from Beech 18's to Norseman's to Aztecs, Twin Otters, Navajos and more sophisticated, safer aircraft. But the powers-that-be have lagged far behind in providing more navigational aids, air radio stations, in order to provide all-weather, dependable air travel in the north."

(Bearskin Lake Air Service Ltd., Kenora, p. 2705)

While air safety was the major topic of concern with respect to air transport, northerners were also concerned with the high cost. One complaint voiced was that, while the provincial government operates (and subsidizes) the NorOntair network, this extends north of 50 only to Pickle Lake:

"Although the government subsidizes NorOntair Airlines, the local freight rates and passenger fares continue to escalate unjustly because the subsidy programs are not extended to the more northern airlines, such as White River Airlines. The cost of shipping one standard frame house to Winisk is \$18,000.00! The price of one gallon of gas is \$4.00."

(Chief Tom Archibald, Moose Factory, p. 3236)

The Big Trout Lake Band suggested that:

"Indian-owned transportation companies and Indian-owned air services should be encouraged. These services should be more service-orientated than profit-orientated."

(Big Trout Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1881)

One northerner, who has been flying into native communities for many years and who has trained a number of native pilots, felt that it was time that native people were given the chance to become involved with something as crucial to their survival as air service, and cited the inequalities between Big Trout Lake and Kenora:

"There is more flying activity at Big Trout Lake than there is at Kenora. And by that I mean that there are more take-offs and landings by commercial aircraft . . . Kenora has a hard-surfaced landing strip that has just been extended to 5,800 feet. It has surveillance radar, hourly weather reports, teletype, air-to-ground communication and all the modern navigational aids. It is manned 24 hours a day by a staff of about 30 people. But there is more commercial air activity at Big Trout Lake so it has better equipment. Right? Quite wrong, Mr. Commissioner. Big Trout has one low-power, non-directional beacon which you cannot pick up until you are within 20 miles of Big Trout. Further, even that is not reliable. The airstrip is a varying mixture of mud and gravel, 3,500 feet long. It

is not serviceable at some times of the year, or, of course, if there is a lot of rain. It is staffed with one person, a maintenance man. Needless to say, there are a lot of kinds of planes you cannot land there."

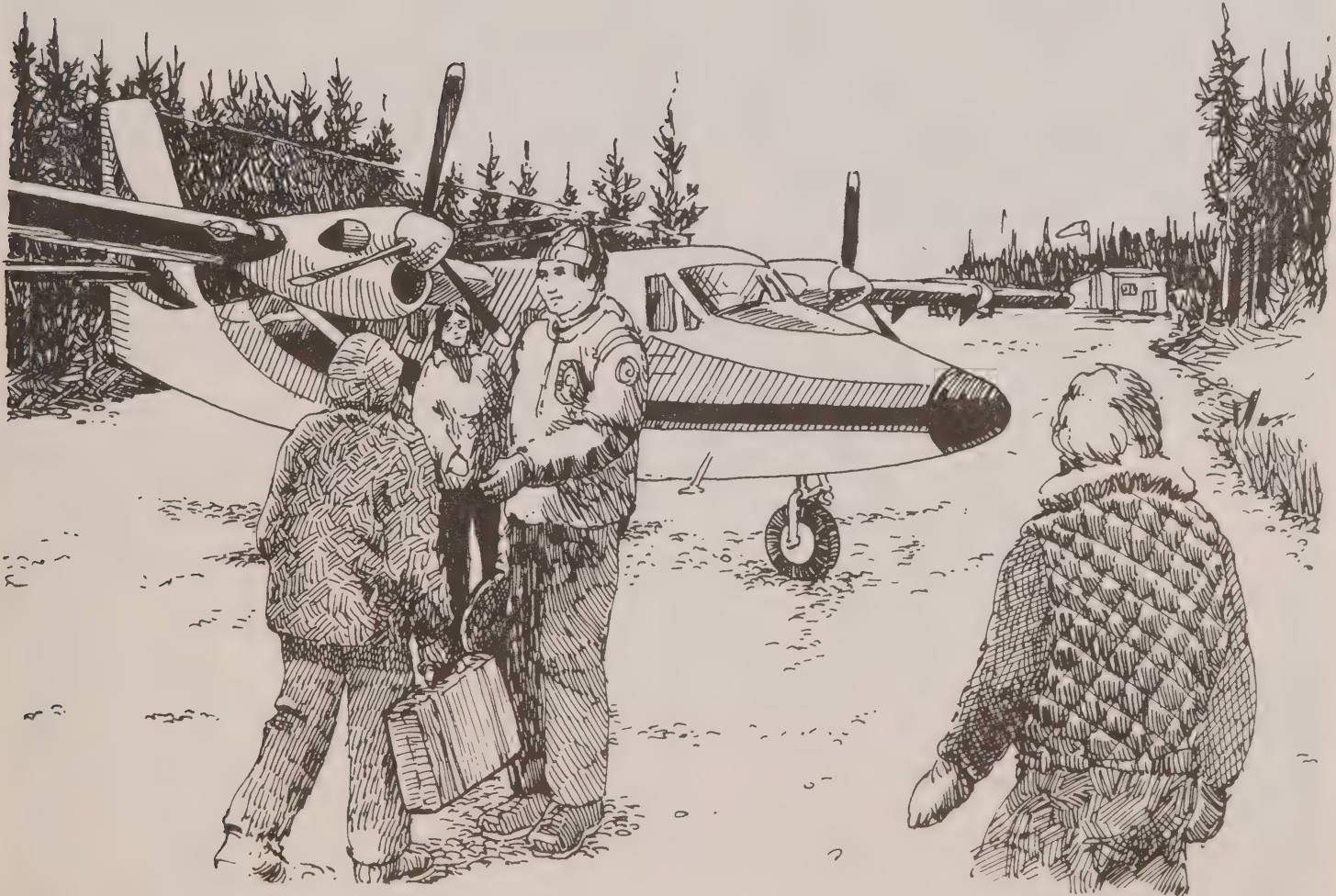
(Barney Lamm, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., p. 6)

Searching for an explanation as to why native communities receive a lower level of air services, Mr. Lamm concluded:

"I do not think that it's racist — that it is the good white and the no-good Indian. I think it is just a matter of political power. Big Trout Lake doesn't have any."

(Barney Lamm, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., p. 7)

The matter of political power, or the lack of it, dogs this question of transportation as it does all other issues in the north.





Communications Add Value to Life in the North

People north of 50, living as they do in scattered, isolated communities, understand the need for good communications. They also know the problems involved in obtaining such services, the expense and technical difficulties in overcoming distances and forbidding terrain, the lack of local power sources, the paucity of local programming. While some northerners asked for greater choice in their radio and television fare, native people asked for a radio network of their own and more native language programming. The Commission learned that native people were benefitting from the work of the Wa-Wa-Ta native Communications Society in providing a newspaper and radio service in Ojibway, Cree and English.

“When Did Ed Start Beating up His Wife?”

Through the wonders of modern technology, soap operas now affect the lives of northern Ontario residents as much as they do southern urban dwellers. In one northern village, an elderly woman told her son about Ed beating up his unfaithful wife. Not until after the son had circulated the item as gossip throughout the community, did he learn that “Ed” was a character in a television soap opera, and not his next door neighbour.

Other side effects of television in the north were recited to the Commission. In complaining about television’s negative influence, the Commission was told that small communities are not able to get people together socially for bingos and square dances as they once did. They blame electronic entertainment in the home. An odd product of television is the reported increased feeling of isolation in the north on the part of viewers.

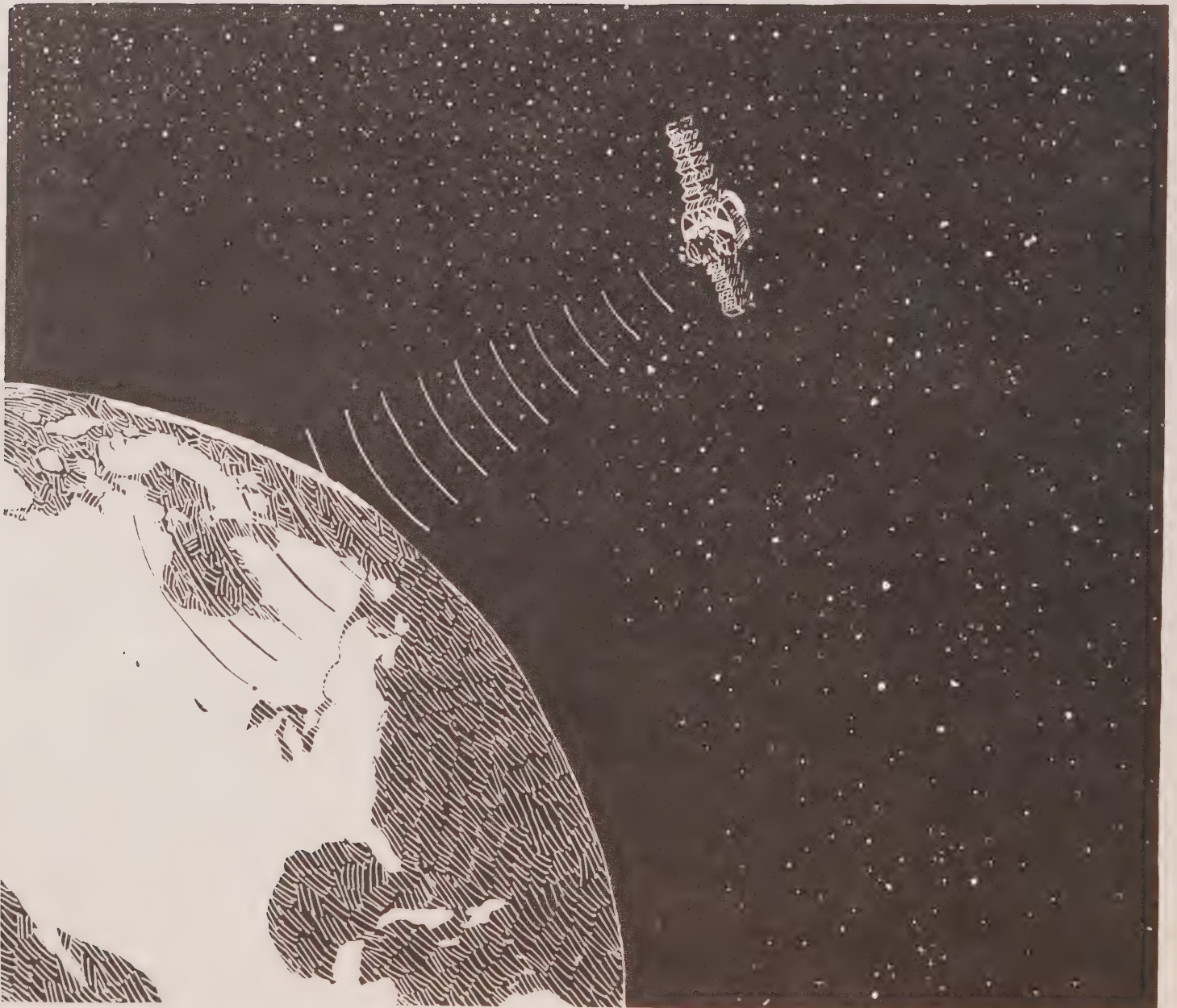
The Commission noted that communities in the southern portion north of 50 had different views and suggestions for improving communications than did the villages located much farther to the north.

At the southernmost sites, residents called for greater variety in their television programming. They told the Commission that many programs of interest to the north, such as international hockey matches, are broadcast on networks presently unavailable to them. One enterprising northern Ontario resident received a warning letter from CTV advising him to cease taping their programs for replay to local audiences.

The Wa-Wa-Ta Native Communications Society exemplifies the same independent northern spirit. Established in 1973 to provide information and news throughout the far north, Wa-Wa-Ta began with a newspaper in Ojibway and Cree syllabics and in English. In the last few years, Wa-Wa-Ta has been developing radio programming and has now set up a number of stations in native communities throughout northwestern Ontario.

Currently, residents of communities as northerly as Sandy Lake, North Spirit Lake and Deer Lake receive five hours of native language programming on CBQ radio, all originating from the nearby community of Sandy Lake (CBQV). This radio service has meant savings in time and even lives to the people of these reserves. Mothers with young children are notified of the time and place for vaccination clinics. Trappers can take CB radios with them on the trapline and maintain contact with radio stations in case of emergency. In this context, modern day electronic communications has become a necessity, not a luxury.

Almost all remote communities are serviced by radiophone but such limited telecommunications have not managed to conquer all the elements of the north. Wa-Wa-Tay News tells a story of how a party of government officials flew into Summer Beaver to check on the communications needs of this community. The officials listened to the band council list the various reasons telephone service was required but the group decided that, with three radiophones available, Summer Beaver was well off. Having arrived at this decision, the party was ready to leave when they found that their chartered plane had developed difficulties. To enlist help, they first tried the band office radiophone — out of order. Then the nursing station and the Wa-Wa-Ta office — same problem. The officials were stranded overnight, left to ponder the frustrations engendered by limited communications facilities north of 50.



Communications Make Participatory Democracy Possible

Throughout its hearings, the Commission was made aware of the need for improved communications in an area of the province where communities are scattered and isolated from each other and the outside world. The importance of communications to good human relations and actual survival was stressed:

"Communication is perhaps the most fundamental process of human society, the tie that simultaneously binds us together and marks us off from other living things . . . It is a key component of the 'quality of life', that set of intangibles which together are the source of richness in human existence . . . It is a paradoxical feature of modern life, however, that it is in those areas in which the benefits of communications — economic, social and cultural — are potentially the greatest, that the barriers to communications are most acute. This is particularly true of northern Ontario."

(Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Pickle Lake, p. 1643)

The long distances and inhospitable terrain which make communications systems so crucial also make them extremely expensive and technically exacting. Nevertheless, there is a feeling in the north that communications systems should be available whatever the cost. And the reasons are clear:

"We want to emphasize to you the importance of communications in our region. Our communities have no roads. We are dependent on the airplane beyond the range of our boats and skidoos. Airplane service is not cheap . . . Flying is dependent on weather, as you are sure to learn when you come to visit us. Even in clear weather our smaller communities without airstrips are isolated for several weeks during freeze-up and break-up."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3204)

For a widely scattered native population, concerned about what is happening to its people and to the land that sustains them, the ability to communicate effectively is necessary to their involvement in shaping the future:

"A reliable and accessible communications system can enable the people to share and discuss information they need to make decisions about matters which affect them. The communications system thus becomes a vital tool which enables native people to participate in their own development."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3203)

Telephone service was considered to be essential:

"Reliable communication in emergencies is vitally important, particularly in small communities without

nurses or OPP, and without a local airplane available. For this reason alone, we believe that every community must have reliable telephone service."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3204)

Most native people in the Treaty #9 area now have access to telephone service but there are still seven permanent communities where no telephone service is slated by Bell Canada. Not all communities receiving telephone service are considered large enough to be eligible for an exchange serving individual homes and in such villages, people must content themselves with toll station service, one telephone per community.

The Commission learned that Sachigo Lake and Muskrat Dam communities rejected Bell Canada's offer of toll station service, insisting that they require exchange service. Wa-Wa-Ta explained their demands:

"The Chiefs of Sachigo and Muskrat Dam have pointed out that one pay phone is entirely inadequate because it will present hardship for the people to come from all over the village to make and receive calls, and it will not be easily accessible in emergencies, especially at night. The chiefs have questioned the wisdom of investing in a multi-million dollar communications program and then providing one pay phone in that community."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3209)

Bell Canada discussed the need for better understanding and co-operation between the native people and the company:

"It may be that Bell Canada has not at all times perceived the real requirements of the native people, or completely understood their social needs, their demographic problems or their politics. On the other hand, it must be understood that Bell Canada has many obligations throughout the entire territory it serves. Capital is not available for all projects at any one time and priorities must be established. Some projects, of necessity, must be delayed."

(Bell Canada, Pickle Lake, p. 1604)

One of the problems that Bell Canada encountered in attempting to provide adequate service to remote communities has been the lack of community power sources:

"The availability of community power is a continuing major concern. Except in those few locations where community power has been provided by the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), a source of continuous, metered AC power is not available. The DIAND electrification program appears to have slipped and there is little presence of Ontario Hydro in the territory. Where special

arrangements have been made to provide telecommunications power, the ongoing costs are extremely high in that Ontario Hydro requires total recovery of all operating and maintenance costs from Bell Canada, or Bell Canada and Telesat Canada."

(Bell Canada, Pickle Lake, p. 1604)

The Ministry of Transportation and Communications agreed that the availability of power was a significant problem and pointed out that the ministry, in conjunction with Ontario Hydro and the Ontario Northland Transportation Commission, had installed diesel electric power for communication use in 18 communities, even though this was not thought to be the best solution:

"It was necessary that these be installed in order that reliable communications could be brought north of 51. The minister realizes that this is not the most efficient way to bring power for this use. Certainly, commercial power obtained from a community source is the sensible way and less expensive way to do it, but until such time as the community electrification program of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development as implemented by Ontario Hydro can catch up, this was the only way to ensure communications in north of 51 . . . I make this point, Sir, only to underline the fact that the improvement and expansion of communications in the north is entirely dependent upon the availability of commercial power, and that communications can only be as reliable as the power source from which it operates."

(Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Pickle Lake, p. 1653)

Despite the difficulties created by the lack of community power sources, Bell Canada and the Ministry of Transportation and Communications are involved in a jointly-financed communications expansion program to bring telecommunications to the north. Called the Remote Northern Ontario Telecommunications Project, the venture was designed to provide reliable long distance telephone facilities and a backbone structure for radio and television service to communities north of 51. As a result, broadcasting services are now available to remote northern communities for the first time. The ministry pointed out that:

"Prior to the initiation of the remote project, no broadcasting facilities existed above the 51st parallel, with the exception of Red Lake and community radio stations in Big Trout Lake and Moosonee, and also television in Moosonee. Since this project was implemented, it is being used as a means to convey the CBC Accelerated Coverage Plan service to communities of 500 or more, which is the criteria of the CBC as to delivery of that plan."

(Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Pickle Lake, p. 1649)

Smaller communities, however, felt that they too should have access to radio:

"Radio has become a vital source of information to the people in our region. Many of them have used the radio to learn about this Commission and to discuss its importance to them. But access to radio in our area is still very limited. Our communities are small. Twenty-five of them do not qualify for CBC service . . . Consider the frustrations of Bearskin Lake, Wunnumin Lake and Kingfisher Lake who are to be served by the same microwave system that will bring radio and TV to Big Trout Lake, while they will receive no broadcasting service at all."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3210)

Further problems are created by the fact that some communities have satellite service while others have terrestrial service. Wa-Wa-Ta argued that it is impossibly expensive to link these communities:

"We had hoped that the new telecommunications system would help us develop a regional radio network. But it appears that the technology is dividing us from each other as much as it is tying us together. We cannot afford to link communities with satellite service such as Muskrat Dam to those with terrestrial service such as Sandy Lake or Sioux Lookout. To do so, we would have to lease a line all the way back to Allen Park near Toronto to get into the satellite. Not even the CBC can afford to do this."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3210)

Native language programming was another expressed need. The Ministry of Transportation and Communications pointed out that while there was some local access to CBC radio, there was no local access to the use of television. They urged that provision be made for programming which would reflect local interests in local languages. This has already occurred in some communities:

"The CBC has offered access to the local radio transmitters to communication societies in these communities (with a population over 500). Sandy Lake is already on the air, and other communities are preparing for local access."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3208)

The Chief of Sandy Lake told the Commission about the local broadcasting service:

"We now have CBC radio and television. It was very hard to get them here. They kept saying they were coming, and then they would put it off to another date. But now, we have them, and we are happy with that service. On top of that, we broadcast locally five hours daily in Cree. This, too, is proving to be a very good thing."

(Chief Saul Fiddler, Sandy Lake, p. 2420)

Kitiwin Communications Association, which operates the local radio station at Sandy Lake, described the services it provides to the community:

"We from Kitiwin Communications give our local radio station access to our people, so we can broadcast in our own language which all Indians can understand . . . We can make our own programs in which the northern people are there to be involved."

(Kitiwin Communications, Sandy Lake, p. 2469)

The local station complained, nevertheless, that it was limited to five hours daily by the CBC, a time period which did not meet the needs of the community.

Northerners had clear ideas about the sort of programming they wanted and needed:

"We respectfully suggest that consideration be given to programs that deal with reality, the true history of this country, and the role the native people played in same. Programs that would set the record straight. Programs that would help the native children to develop pride and respect for their race and culture."

(Armstrong Metis Association, Sioux Lookout, p. 298)

People in larger communities expressed concern about the limited variety in general interest programming. In the northwest, only CBC television is available; in the northeast, both CBC and CTV television can be received. This is a source of dissatisfaction to residents of the northwest, one which the Ministry of Transportation and Communications recognized:

"In most areas of the province, broadcasting services are not frills but key components of the quality of life . . . It is generally acknowledged that some choice of television and radio stations, particularly in more remote, resource-based communities, can be a very important element of the community's social life."

(Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Pickle Lake, p. 1650)

The grade eight class of the Moosonee Public School agreed:

"We think that TV services can be improved by having more channels and more interesting programs. This might help to keep youth off the streets. If youths are not on the streets as much it would cut down on the total lawbreaking."

(Moosonee Public School, Grade 8, Moosonee, p. 3172)

In the northwest, people stressed the need for a second television station and complained about the lack of variety on CBC. Two Red Lake residents suggested that:

"An additional television channel would entertain a lot

of people. To sit and watch sports for hours on end is not enjoyable for most people, a greater variety would be appreciated. For Canadian content we are forever seeing sports and highlights on the Olympics. The Olympics were all very interesting, but to see it over and over again is ridiculous."

(Doreen Heinrichs and Dana Robbins, Red Lake, p. 525)

While improved communications allow better transfer of information to and within the north, the reverse does not seem to be true. Northerners were angry about the kind of press coverage the north received in the southern media, particularly:

"... the persistent bias presented in the urban media about the north; the misrepresentation by the media of the facts, events and resident expectations in order to proliferate southern myths about the north; the frequent patronizing and simplistic presentation of the region's need and interests."

(Red Lake Inter Agency Coordinating Committee, Red Lake, p. 596)

Because of the perceived past record of unfair reporting, there was some concern voiced for the coverage the southern media would provide for the Commission's activities. The Kenora and District Chamber of Commerce stated that:

"We watch with interest, Mr. Commissioner, the reports of the news media on these hearings as you travel across the north. We are most concerned that they show the balance that they should, and give fair coverage to all the viewpoints put forward."

(Kenora and District Chamber of Commerce, Kenora, p. 3072)

In Toronto, a York University student who had attended the Commission's hearings in Sioux Lookout and Dryden, blasted the southern press for what he felt to be misrepresentation of what had occurred at the hearings:

"While your preliminary hearings have witnessed a number of confrontations and emotional scenes, they have also established that there are many common concerns held by northerners that transcend race and cultural heritage. Yet I read nothing of this hope and desire for common and constructive action to improve the lot of northerners. I suppose it's not the sort of thing that sells newspapers in Toronto . . . How can southerners appreciate the problems and feelings of northerners when all they read about are the confrontations, the charges and counter-charges, and an all-pervasive bitterness? How can northerners come to respect the views of southerners when they find themselves constantly maligned in the media of southern Ontario?"

(Joe de Pencier, Toronto, p. 2002)

The northern media, on the other hand, represented themselves as outlets through which the Commission could communicate with the people of the north on a fair basis. The publisher of the *Sioux Lookout Daily Bulletin* told the Commission:

"I do believe that, small as the media in this area appears to be, it can still help your Commission achieve with greater ease the goal which it must reach . . . The media cannot read your mind, and, thus, when your Commission discerns the issues, you must make them public knowledge quickly in order to allow the participants to correct any false conclusions that you may have formed before you start out on the wrong track. The media can be of immense value to you in this regard."

(*Daily Bulletin, Sioux Lookout*, p. 342)

Wa-Wa-Ta covered the hearings in both English and Indian syllabics and made sure that the information got to the communities:

"For example, to distribute copies of the Wa-Wa-Tay supplement on the hearings during freeze-up, we chartered planes to drop papers tied in green garbage bags into the communities. This may be the first Royal Commission that has literally bombarded people with information."

(*Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee*, p. 3204)

Certainly the effort made by Wa-Wa-Ta to keep the people informed regarding what was happening at the hearings was an example of communications being made to work for the people. Wa-Wa-Ta felt that:

"The use of communications in these hearings is an example of its importance. The telephone has been used to plan, organize, and co-ordinate activities of all the participants. Both radio and newspapers are being used to inform the people in their own language about the hearings so that they will be able to follow the statements made, so that they will be prepared to participate in the community hearings."

(*Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee*, p. 3205)

While Wa-Wa-Ta's work was an indication of what communication can be in the north, its officers emphasized that there was much room for expansion and improvement. Wa-Wa-Ta foresaw considerable potential in

training local people to maintain and repair communications equipment and to become involved in the delivery of communications. One of its goals was:

" . . . participation by native people in the delivery of communication services through training and jobs in communication equipment operation and maintenance, administration and media production."

(*Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee*, p. 3212)

The Ministry of Transportation and Communications agreed that the training of native people in communications equipment maintenance was desirable:

"Indeed, I am sure that the standard of operation, the time to repair, etc., etc., will be improved if local people at site can be trained and are there with an interest in their community to keep the bells ringing . . . The employment of native residents in this work not only means repairs can be made immediately, but it further means a source of income to the communities concerned."

(*Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Pickle Lake*, p. 1656)

Native people were anxious to become involved in expanding and improving the communications network to better suit their needs. While adequate communications are essential to the well-being of the native people in the north, Treaty # 9 placed a word of caution about being heedless in pushing towards expanded communications:

"Our communities have suffered from an inadequate communication system. This is now being rectified, but we must consider the costs as well as the benefits. We are not against technology, but we must carefully consider its impact on our cultural life. It is we who must control any proposed changes in our lifestyle."

(*Treaty # 9, Sioux Lookout*, p. 117)

Whether it was native people, concerned that communications serve their needs and not threaten the stability of their traditional culture, or non-natives, lamenting the lack of variety in broadcasting, northerners were unanimous in expressing a common concern that instruments of communications should be tools in their hands to help northerners serve their own regional needs as much as possible.



Justice—Its Relevance to Native Cultures

Justice in the north, as presently administered, causes particular difficulties for native people, partly because of the application of both provincial and federal laws, and partly because of the imposition of a legal system that is alien to native cultures. With courts and law enforcement agencies staffed by non-natives, and these structures operating for the most part outside of the native communities, justice as rendered reflects outside values. The call to the Commission was for reform so that justice can not only be done but seen to be done.

Whose Values, For What Purpose?

In that part of Ontario lying north of 50, some two-thirds of the population have a culture which is foreign to most Canadians. The ancestors of these people were residents of the north long before the first European set foot anywhere on the land now known as Canada. Their languages were neither French nor English. Their values were linked to their close relationship, physical and spiritual, with the land. From these evolved an indigenous legal system.

With the Europeans came the languages, values and social systems which differed markedly from those already in place. The European legal system, in particular, was puzzling to the native people. Many native Canadians continue to fear it, perhaps mainly as an instrument of the dominant white society which threatens their survival as a distinct, identifiable people and culture.

Many of the social problems identified with the north were affected, perhaps even worsened, by the impact of the dominant legal system on the native people. Social ills, alcoholism, the violence that stems from hopelessness, the behaviour, often self-destructive, of the young, none of these seemed to be eased for those affected by their experiences with the law.

Problems encountered in the administration of justice, in the delivery of legal services, were described to the Commission, such as inadequate detention facilities, inappropriate sentences, insufficient help toward rehabilitation. A lack of personal understanding and trust between native and white persons, between offenders and police, seemed to be a major factor in the overall perception of what was wrong with the administration of justice in the north.

Evidence of the social malaise was clear. For example, the Ministry of Community and Social Services reported that the rate for juvenile delinquents in Metropolitan Toronto is ten dispositions to family court per 1,000 juveniles, while northwestern Ontario's rate is 48 and northeastern Ontario's is 19. Causes were felt to be related mainly to the high level of social problems and the inadequate social mechanisms in place to deal with youth in northern Ontario. Thus, the disproportionate number of northern children in trouble with the law.

It was also apparent to the Commission that the desire to overcome social and legal inequities is present in the north. Some efforts are even now being made but much remains to be done. The law and the system which administers it must rise to the challenge, the Commission was told. Should it fail to do so, conflict and violence may well increase, some predicted. This could lead to even greater polarization between peoples and between individuals and the society which is failing them.

How Well Does the Legal System Serve Native People?

Native representatives told the Commission that the design of a more relevant legal system for them is essential if northern people are to feel that their interests, their persons and their property are truly the concern of the law. On this question of justice, the non-native community made no representation, leaving the Commission to presume that non-native northerners consider themselves well served by the law and that reform of the administration of justice is not a matter of pressing concern to them. Native northerners, on the other hand, were very critical of the legal system.

It is native people in the north, the Commission learned, who suffer the greatest exposure, contact and conflict with the law and its administration. Their experience has left many native people believing that the legal system ignores indigenous customs and acknowledges only superficially the social problems which generate lawbreaking. It does not serve them well.

Elder Tom Fiddler of Sandy Lake told the Commissioner of his people's first experiences with the white man's law. He recounted incidences spanning a period of 30 years. Each time, police came into the native community, arrested the alleged offender and took him south, away from this language and his people. Through an interpreter he told how:

"The white man did not have awareness or respect for the native way of life, nor did they try to understand it. I think it is more advisable that our ways of correction be also taken into consideration. They were not even given the chance to go into trial. They were just condemned."

(Tom Fiddler, Sandy Lake, p. 2385)

Some native people spoke of their continuing capacity to evolve rules governing their communities:

"Our people never agreed to relinquish sovereignty over our lives. We have continued to make laws through the years to govern the important aspects of our lives. I have examined the document, Treaty # 3, on a number of occasions. I fail to see any statement contained in that document which says that the Indian people have relinquished their sovereignty."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2897)

The history of alienation from the legal system continues to repeat itself, now fueled by the ramifications of alcohol abuse.

The Commission heard that the District of Kenora has a record of liquor offences approximately five times the provincial average, most of them involving Indians:

"The majority of the convictions in the Kenora District Court (Summary Conviction Proceedings) were found to involve liquor offences. The average between 1966-1974 is 66%, whereas the provincial average for 1966-1972 is 12%. About 80% of the liquor offences in the

Kenora Court involve 'public intoxication', this compares to 45% for the province . . . An exploratory examination of homicide cases heard in the Kenora District Court between 1970-1975 found that in over 80% of the cases the suspects were reported being drunk or drinking prior to the crime."

(Addiction Research Foundation, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., January 4, 1978, p. 10)

The high level of native contact with the law also stems from the disproportionately large number of violent deaths among Indians:

"Data from the regional coroner indicate that between 1973-1974 in the Kenora District, one out of every three victims of accidental and violent deaths were native Indians, although they comprise only 21% of the population of the district."

(Addiction Research Foundation, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., January 4, 1978, p. 11)

The legal system's response to these deaths was criticized as never getting at the real cause:

"We are very angry and dissatisfied with the handful of inquests that have been held for these people (victims of violence). When one is held it is not thorough enough. It seems that it is not to seek the real causes of these deaths, but more of a cover-up. 'The person drank insect repellent', we are told, or 'the young girl took an overdose of TB pills'. And so on. Does that sound like it's getting to the real cause? Or a cover-up?"

(Nancy Morrison, Kenora, p. 2594)

"When we ask for more inquests because we are dissatisfied with the number and the way they are conducted, why are they afraid to conduct these and really dig into the causes of some of these deaths and 'accidents'?"

(Lake of the Woods Pow-Wow Club, Kenora, p. 2539)

Some allegations were of a different kind but equally serious. The Commission heard how some perceive the workings of the penal system:

"I would like to talk about something which I am not happy about. It is the way our Indian people are treated in the local jail. In this jail they are sometimes beaten by the Ontario Provincial Police while there are no witnesses to see this happening. It is the Indian's word against the Ontario Provincial Police."

(Frederick Whiskeychan, Moosonee, p. 3175)

Fear of the policeman seems to result in further alienation from the dominant Canadian culture:

"We find we are not in control of our lives in any way. The police become our enemies. The bootlegger is seen as our friend, and the water and railroad tracks beckon as a quick and welcome release. And we hate it. We hate it and hate ourselves and take out our anger on each other. Jail and the hospital, receiving home and training school and foster home become the common experiences shared by our children, not college or university, not work or homes that we are proud of."

(Lake of the Woods Pow-Wow Club, Kenora, p. 2539)

Even those most critical of the legal system recognized that some things are being done to make the system more responsive to northern natives. For example, natives are being recruited to work as special Ontario Provincial Police constables on the reserves under a joint federal-provincial program. Several elders spoke with regret that:

"We have to have a policeman to help keep our home the way the Great Spirit meant it to be and to help straighten out young people whose boredom gets them into trouble."

(Pikangikum Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2450)

Others admitted the need for enforcement:

"We are thinking about the future. We have asked for a band constable. Our children haven't gotten into serious trouble, but we want a constable so that the people can govern their own settlements."

(Deer Lake Community, Sandy Lake, p. 2403)

Some people felt that these special Ontario Provincial Police constables were not treated fairly:

"The solicitor-general says that . . . the Indian people are not taxpayers and this is why we pay Indian people less."

(Treaty #3, Nakina, p. 1547)

Indians in conflict with the law are often dealt with in a manner that can be extremely disorienting:

"In a criminal case, the accused person might be in custody many miles from the community, appear in court many miles from the community, and have his case argued in the presence of a non-native jury, presided over by a non-native judge in an arena where often native customs may not be taken into account in the determination either of the question of guilt or innocence, or in the final disposition of the case."

(Harvey Savage, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., October 31, 1977, p. 7)

The Ontario Ministry of the Attorney General's system of travelling courts was established to deal with this problem:

"When the court travels in the north, the judge is accompanied by crown counsel, duty counsel and a court reporter. Often a native court worker, an Ontario Provincial Police representative and a probation officer will travel with the group to assist the court and individual accused. The court visits larger communities on a regular schedule, and whenever and wherever necessary on a crisis-intervention basis."

(Ministry of the Attorney General, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., November 17, 1977, p. 2)

Other measures to meet the needs of native communities have been taken. The Ministry of the Attorney General has appointed native justices of the peace although the program has encountered:

" . . . recruiting problems since some excellent native people who would have been very suitable in this work have been reluctant to accept appointments."

(Ministry of the Attorney General, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., November 17, 1977, p. 12)

In the area of sentencing, attempts are being made to impose sanctions which are compatible with native experience. The Ministry of Correctional Services told the Commission that they often favoured community service orders as an alternative to jail:

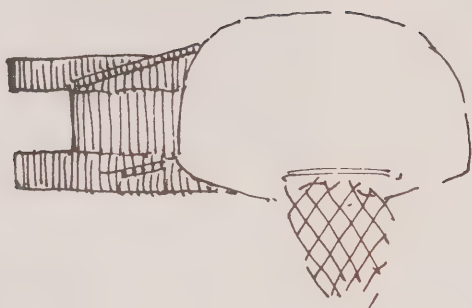
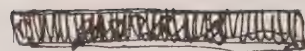
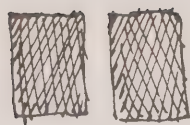
"The Minister of Correctional Services . . . feels that people of any colour, native, white or whatever, should not sit in jails and do nothing. Particularly with relationship to the north, he wishes that the Commission would consider the fact that our ministry has access to certain cutting rights and reforestation and to environmental improvement or to park development, so that people who come to our attention will have something productive to do while they are serving their time . . . and it might give them skills which would make them a little more productive in the future."

(Ministry of Correctional Services, Ear Falls, p. 801)

Nevertheless, underlying economic and social conditions continue unaltered. The Ministry of Correctional Services called for social changes to treat the problems that lead to crime:

"We are concerned in the rapid development and change of traditional ways of life, that there is not enough development of the social infrastructure which will help keep the need for our kind of service to a minimum . . . When we are developing our economy we don't see the jail as one of the major resources, but to build as many other things as possible to keep people from ever getting to us."

(Ministry of Correctional Services, Ear Falls, p. 801)



Community Taxation—Too Small a Base

Northern Ontario communities reported themselves unable to provide levels of physical and social services equal to those provided elsewhere in the province. They blame the inadequate municipal tax base in their communities which provides very low local revenues. Municipalities called for legislative changes on the provincial level which would instruct and encourage natural resource industries to contribute more to the provision of services in the towns housing their labour forces. Smaller communities look to provincial subsidies to help finance their needed services.

Industries Required to Help Provide Amenities

Evolving communities during their early boom periods in northern Ontario were pictured to the Royal Commission as places of bustling activity — people and machines on the move, buildings going up, towns being hewn from the bush.

Regrettably, many northerners found this euphoric phenomenon short-lived. Northern realities more often left towns with inadequate sewage and water facilities, inferior roads, expensive (or rare) serviced lots, and few recreational or social services.

The Commission heard that in more than one town north of 50, current municipal expenditures exceed revenues. Debts began and grew in periods of rapid community expansion. Many municipalities in the north complained that, at present, they have no effective tax mechanisms to keep up with the growth in population caused by the development of nearby natural resources.

Representatives of mining and forestry companies in northern Ontario, addressing the Commission, pointed out that, in the past, their companies did provide the main housing and community recreational services in most of the communities near which they located their operations. Tax relief incentives had encouraged this kind of contribution. Should these be withdrawn, resource industries would be less able to finance such services.

Municipal representatives described the need for greater funding to provide adequate schools, recreation and infrastructure for their citizens. Municipal representatives regretted that their local bodies do not have a direct call on some portion of the corporate income tax which resource companies pay the province. Northern towns see themselves called to provide local services for industrial workers and their families while the employing companies sidestep them, paying taxes to provincial and federal governments and not to the municipal body providing those services. The reason is simple — in many cases the companies are located outside the town boundaries and, thus, not subject to municipal jurisdiction.

While several northerners acknowledged that some government agencies, notably in the recreational field, have made special efforts to assist their communities financially, most northern townspeople felt that far greater provincial government assistance is required before amenities and services can compare favourably with those in southern Ontario.

New Approaches and Formulas Advocated

The larger communities of the north described their municipal tax base to the Commission as inadequate for the services demanded or as excessively dependent upon a single resource industry. In Dryden, the publisher of the local paper pointed out that:

"The local and municipal tax revenue from the paper company here has helped very substantially to make improvements possible. To be more explicit, the paper company's municipal tax bill is \$1 million a year — which amounts to 40% of the town's tax revenues."

(Dryden Observer, Dryden, p. 370)

Dependence on a single taxpayer or employer, can be disastrous, whether it be a paper company or a mining enterprise:

"The communities which have developed . . . have all the stability of the markets for their resources, the life of their finds, and the efficiency of silviculture techniques. Once an ore body is mined out, jobs are lost and houses become vacant. Industrial taxes are lost. Once-crowded classrooms become small. And few smiles are to be found on the faces of business people who have spent years developing their business and establishing their families . . . The town will have fallen on hard times. Many refer to this phenomenon as the boom and bust syndrome."

(Alex and Delia Rosenthal, Ear Falls, p. 811)

There are seven organized communities in Ontario north of 50. In addition to these towns, townships and improvement districts, there are a large number of unorganized communities. The latter's characteristics were described to the Commission by the Unorganized Communities Association of Northeastern Ontario (UCANO—East):

"Most are residuals of resource-based towns who used to depend on an industry that has since disappeared. Most lack all basic physical services such as water, sewage, fire protection, etc. Most depend on remote municipalities for government and social services . . . Most lack planning services, and perhaps most important, most lack an adequate tax base to consider any existing form of organization."

(UCANO — East, Timmins, p. 910)

Organized communities, as represented by the Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association (NOMA), felt themselves somewhat exploited by unorganized communities and asked that:

"New formulas must be established in order that residents and industries located in unorganized areas

contribute their fair share to services provided at the expense of organized municipalities."

(NOMA, Kenora, p. 2518)

The Unorganized Communities Association of Northwestern Ontario (UCANO — West) disagreed:

"A lot of people do not realize that we do pay taxes. We pay provincial land tax, local roads board tax and school tax . . . It just irks me because people think that we are freeloading. We are not. We pay."

(UCANO — West, Kenora, p. 2997)

Overwhelming support came for the recommendation that any new developments should utilize existing townsites rather than create new communities to follow the boom and bust pattern:

"We (should) not build whole new towns to accommodate these developments anymore . . . The mines close and the people are uprooted . . . The town is left with no economy. We cannot afford that costly pattern anymore."

(Millie Barrett, Geraldton, p. 1417)

Several submissions recommended that workers commute from established townsites to their places of work. Onakawana Development Ltd. discussed its plans should development proceed:

"It is not the intent to create a new townsite at Onakawana . . . This would tend to disrupt already established communities. Rather, workers will be transported by the company from their existing communities to work for four- or three-day period at the mine and transported home again for their three- or four-day break."

(Onakawana Development Ltd., Timmins, p. 950)

A major problem reported by several communities was the responsibility of providing services for employees of a company without being able to tax the employing industry because its place of operation was located outside the town's boundaries:

"Municipalities do not obtain direct revenue from the logging sector . . . nor from the industry that results in the harvesting of those trees. The services to the community are located here and must be provided but the revenues are not forthcoming . . . Surely we deserve a share of this wealth."

(Town of Geraldton, Geraldton, p. 1344)

The township of Longlac reported difficulties in planning and building new subdivisions to house workers from Kimberly-Clark:

"Growth of expenditures has exceeded the growth of assets . . . When new industry comes to a town it is important that that industry settle within the town boundaries . . . to help increase assessment and offset the costs of development."

(Township of Longlac, Nakina, p. 1461)

The main consequence of an inadequate tax base is that social and community needs suffer:

"The resource centres of this area are, by definition, apparently unable to develop a broad tax base. Decisions to build or improve educational facilities, recreation complexes, and educational programs may have the immediate result of a raise in local mill rates. This consideration, or fear of this result, has restricted development of cultural and educational facilities found in other parts of Ontario."

(Ontario Public School Men Teachers Federation, Dryden District, Dryden, p. 457)

Government was asked to consider the financial shortcomings in small northern towns:

"More government funding could go into recreational and intellectual facilities for a developing northern area. Although people are willing to work for this end, in a new area funds are low."

(Don and Linda Pickett, Pickle Lake, p. 1724)

The Ministry of Culture and Recreation pointed out that the Community Recreation Centres Act and the Wintario Grants Program have some flexibility:

"Depending on circumstances, in order to assist those communities with less ability than others, especially in the north, to provide matching funds, it has been possible to accept the value of donated labour and materials in lieu of cash contributions as is normal . . . Also, in cases of genuine need where the total private sector contribution is insufficient and where the field consultant believes that the capital facility is needed and can be maintained by the community, the consultant may recommend additional Wintario support for such a project."

(Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Kenora, p. 2507)

The ministry most concerned with municipal finance is the Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs (TEIGA). It reported to the Commission on the Regional Priority Budget set up in 1973 and the Isolated Communities Existence Fund established in 1977 (both since taken over by the Ministry of Northern Affairs) to deal with community infrastructure financing

difficulties. TEIGA defined the problems as:

" . . . (First) the limited tax base with which to finance the range of services normally expected. Secondly, the difficulty for small northern communities to obtain long-term borrowing. Thirdly, the often higher demands for the broader range of municipal services with comparable municipalities in southern Ontario because of the isolated nature of northern communities. In brief, the issues concerning municipal finance can be reduced to who should pay for various services northern communities require."

(Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, Timmins, p. 864)

The Ministry of Northern Affairs reported that it is currently investigating methods of organization to help ease some of the problems experienced by northern municipalities.

Representatives of both provincial and municipal governments felt that clarification of jurisdiction was necessary:

"In the federal-provincial field, the Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs has been attempting to clarify the responsibilities of the federal and provincial governments through a process we call disentanglement of overlapping functions. In another sense, we have been trying to do this in the provincial-municipal field also, where we found that all too often, accountability is lost where there is not a clear onus on one level or the other for providing certain services, and particularly where the financing is not clear. The purpose of disentanglement is to enable the distinction between and separation of the roles and responsibilities of levels of government as far as possible so that each can carry them out sensitively and economically."

(Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, Timmins, p. 866)

The Tri-Municipal Committee of Balmertown, Ear Falls and Red Lake called for:

" . . . a review and analysis of the interrelationships between municipal governments and the provincial government, a listing of the achievements and problems in these relationships, a review of the funds and services that are provided in the Tri-Municipal area by the provincial government."

(Tri-Municipal Committee, Ear Falls, p. 744)

Many residents of the north maintained that increased industrial development would help ease their problems:

"New industry generates new service industries . . . What this means in practical terms is that not only are employment opportunities created in the construction industry through capital expenditures, but also the

needs for employees in the service industries are increased. The welfare and unemployment rolls in this area are of widespread concern to all of us. We feel that controlled and planned development of our renewable resources can only serve to alleviate this heavy tax burden."

(Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Dryden, p. 380)

One town volunteered:

"We . . . would not object to being termed a depressed area, an underprivileged area or any other designation that was required, in order to obtain help to provide incentives to various industries to come here . . . This type of thing is generally not done until the town faces economic devastation. Surely it is logical and it is much easier to attract new industries to a town while that town is confident and moving forward, instead of fearful and tripping backwards."

(Town of Geraldton, Geraldton, p. 1348)

There was general agreement among speakers at the Commission's hearings that resource extraction ought to be a base from which to diversify and build a strong economy. Further:

"Resource-based industries usually result in an outward flow of profits, taxes and financial benefits . . . We would like to see some form of contingency fund built up over a period of years so that there will be funding available for a replacement industry, for assistance to residents to relocate, or to help with the operation of the remaining townsite."

(Madsen Community Association, Red Lake, p. 542)

The Ontario New Democratic Party Caucus maintained that:

"... the province must capture all surplus profits from that (resource) exploitation . . . A portion of the funds so generated should be used to promote diversification of the regional economy . . . Single resource communities are vulnerable to the erosion of their economic base as their resources dwindle."

(Ontario New Democratic Party Caucus, Timmins, p. 984)

Many felt that industry should take more responsibility for the dependent communities:

"Development companies must include in their capital costs 5% of any project as a community development fee, which should be turned over to a community planning council for local use in the areas of social, community or educational improvement. The designation of this fund must be entirely in the hands of the local community, and they must be allowed to meet their own priorities without government or company influence."

(Warner West, Moose Factory, p. 3331)

The plea for greater local involvement in decision-making as a step in solving problems was heard across the north. The Tri-Municipal Committee asked for:

"The potential for improving and strengthening the role of municipal government as participants in provincial decisions affecting the area in order to assure that decisions are made in consultation with local government, and not solely by provincial agencies . . . What methods can be developed for municipal financing which will provide more stable sources of income and minimize the constant requests for 'hand-outs'? How much of the federal and provincial government royalties and other payments should be returned to the municipality?"

(Tri-Municipal Committee, Red Lake, p. 484)

Both the Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association and the Ministry of the Environment recommended that the Commission examine ways of providing an adequate tax base for northern communities. In particular, NOMA recommended:

"New formulas must be established to provide adequate revenues to organized municipalities to provide a minimum level of services to the public at costs consistent with those enjoyed by southern Ontario municipalities. This minimum level in service should include roads, municipal services, health, education, cultural and recreational facilities. A greater portion of the provincial revenues directed to municipalities should be unconditional. Each municipality should be permitted to establish its own priorities beyond the level of minimum servicing standards . . . Local populations and municipalities should be permitted to participate in the negotiation process together with government and industry in order to identify and to achieve trade-offs to the betterment of the local area."

(NOMA, Kenora, p. 2518)

Treaties and Rights—In What Spirit?

Key elements in understanding the present differences between native people and the provincial government over the natural resources of the north are the Treaties (#3, #5, #9) between government and Indians signed in northern Ontario between 1873 and 1930. Indian representatives reiterated for the benefit of the Commission their version of what had transpired during treaty negotiations, how these documents were negotiated, how promises to them were broken. Metis groups also represented their claims to rights as descendants of the original peoples of the land. Several non-native groups supported Indian demands for renegotiation of the treaties, urging that native rights be defined and protected and that conflicts be resolved to open the north to further development.

Questions of Access to Natural Resources

All along the rivers and lakes that gave them access to inland North America, explorers from Europe discovered people already living on the land.

Native people and newcomers, their meetings brought into contrast two totally different views of existence and of the world.

The British and French saw land as a commodity which could be bought, sold or transferred from one owner to another. They had long developed an established body of law and tradition which protected individual property rights and private ownership. Native people, on the other hand, viewed land as a legacy from the Great Spirit, as part of all things alive which must be cared for, nurtured and shared for the benefit of nature's totality. Native peoples had far different traditions governing their use of the land. Their descendants, present-day native northerners, believe that their ancestors could no more have comprehended the concept of owning the land than that of owning the rays of the sun or of possessing the waves of the water.

Because the early newcomers from a different world wished to acquire access and title to lands used or occupied by native people, they initiated and negotiated a number of treaties.

According to native people who spoke before the commission, when the first treaties were proposed and their terms disclosed to native people, there was no talk of the surrender of land or of Indians yielding their unquestioned rights to live the way native people had always lived: what was discussed then was how to share the land and how to live in peace and friendship together.

Today, in 1978, grave doubts persist whether those predecessor native people who signed the treaties were offered or had any real choice. The phrasing used and the promises made in the numbered treaties are almost identical. Was there really any room for negotiating changes? Did the government of the day have a predetermined agenda which the treaty commissioners had to meet?

It is clear to their descendants that the native people who signed Treaty #3 had definite concerns when they took part in the treaty signing. They had pressed for higher yearly payments than those received in the Manitoba Treaties #1 and #2. They had urged greater recognition of their traditional lifestyle, strongly requested assistance in developing their agriculture with tools and skills, and had sought free passageway on the soon-to-be-built railway. Yet oddly, in 1873, the communities of Treaty #3 who were called together in assembly at

the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods to sign the treaty signed the standard form. The few who could not attend were approached later to sign an adhesion indicating their agreement to the terms of the earlier treaty.

Communities of the Treaty #9 area were visited separately by the treaty commissioners. Residents were not made aware of the discussions which had taken place at other sites.

Language fails to translate ideas

Both Treaties #3 and #9 talks took place employing two languages and proceeding from disparate viewpoints. Priests or Métis traders, many with their own interests in mind, served as interpreters.

The end-product, the treaties, confirmed in the government's mind its right to allow development of the land which it now "owned". To native people, while the treaties allowed settlers to live on lands within which the Indian people hunted, trapped and fished, the treaties also meant that Indian people would continue to live off the land in their time-honoured ways.

It was argued before the Commission that this difference in perception was not at issue nor confronted until modern times since native people, unaware that their universe had been sold, continued their nomadic way of life for years. It was not until some time after the original treaties were signed that the government's intentions regarding the settlement of native people on reserves owned by bands became known.

At the Commission's hearings in 1977 and 1978, viewpoints on treaties and Indian rights were varied, but spokespeople were agreed that the Commission should try to assist in the resolution of outstanding grievances stemming from the treaties. Only after restitution should development proceed.

The Commission, in its first interim report, April 4, 1978 took the view that it was time to explore an approach based on negotiation and the acceptance of mutual responsibilities. There are unique and essential roles for each of the three basic participants: the federal government, because of its authority for Indians under the British North America Act, the provincial government through its declared ownership of the land and its actions in controlling and facilitating economic development in Ontario, and the Indians because of their particular constitutional status.

In addition, it is important to recognize the vital interest of affected municipalities in all discussions and decisions.

Accordingly, it was recommended in the Commission's Interim Report, that: "A committee should be formed, composed of ministerial-level representatives of the federal and Ontario governments and representatives of the Indian people. The committee would attempt to resolve, through negotiation, issues raised by its members, and in particular would address question of devolution of authority to govern local affairs and access to resources for the Indian people. A small secretariat, acceptable to all parties, should be established to support the committee."

The structure proposed was not exclusively tri-partite. It had to be flexible enough to accommodate other parties, namely, other levels of government, Crown corporations, companies or whoever is necessary to facilitate the decision-making-by-negotiation process. In this instance, the fundamental objective of the Indian people is to regain control over their own lives and to have self-sustaining communities. To do this, they need some economic substitute for the federal transfer payments on which they have become all too dependent. Accordingly, the Commission saw it as essential that the issues of Indian community government and of access to natural resources be addressed at the very first meetings of the committee.

On September 29, 1978 the formation of a secretariat to support the committee was officially announced by the federal Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, with Mr. Justice E.P. Hartt as its chairman. To be known as the Indian Commission of Ontario, the secretariat will assist the Tripartite Council which has already been formed.

Treaties and Rights—Basic Considerations

The Canadian Crown's treaties with the Indians were held by many native people to be among the most important matters that the Commission might consider. One spokesman claimed that the Commission came into existence primarily because the treaties were not being honoured.

North of 50 in Ontario, three treaties are presently in force: Treaty # 3, Treaty # 5 and Treaty # 9. These formal agreements were designed to extinguish the legal interests that the Indian people, as original residents, might have had in the lands they occupied or used. Some governments recognize that native or aboriginal peoples have priority rights which must be dealt with before newcomers can assert any claims to the land.

After the British occupation of North America, King George III issued a Royal Proclamation in 1763 which stated that Indian people would henceforth be dealt with by treaty; and that Indian land would be sold only to the Crown and, hence, not to individual settlers.

The Proclamation and the treaties which followed it could be viewed as formal recognition of the aboriginal rights (and particularly aboriginal title in the lands) which the treaties purported to have extinguished in exchange for certain government promises.

Treaty # 3 pertains to 55,000 square miles in north-western Ontario (See map section). It was signed in 1873 by Ojibway chiefs of that area and representatives of the Canadian government.

Treaty # 9, which covered 90,000 square miles, was signed in 1905-06. 128,320 square miles of land were added through adhesions signed in 1929-30 (again see map section). Ojibway and Cree people living in these areas signed the treaty along with representatives of the governments of Canada and Ontario.

Treaty # 5, covering approximately 15,000 square miles in Ontario, applies, in the main, to a larger contiguous area in Manitoba. Falling under the provisions of Treaty # 5 are those lands lying north of Treaty # 3 and drained by the Poplar, Berens and Bloodvein rivers. Within this area are the communities of Deer Lake, Pikangikum, and Poplar Hill, with McDowell Lake and North Spirit Lake located virtually on the boundary between the Treaty # 5 and Treaty # 9 areas. In addition, the community of Sandy Lake, although it is clearly sited within Treaty # 9 lands, was dealt with on the basis of the Treaty # 5 agreement. For practical purposes, all of these communities in Treaty # 5 fall under the leadership of Grand Council Treaty # 9 which works with these communities on a variety of issues.

Although the three treaties differ in several details, the printed government version of each (see Appendices D, E and F) has as its main provisions the setting aside of certain parcels of land as reserves, the right to pursue traditional means of livelihood, and availability of teachers and schools, and the provision of certain monies and trade goods to band members in return for the surrender of aboriginal title.

Much of the present-day misunderstandings appear to be rooted in the different cultural perspectives vis-a-vis the land and the extent to which these were understood in the original negotiations:

"Our people, unlike your ancestors from Europe, never saw themselves as the owners of the land. No one can own something that belongs to our Great Spirit. They can only be the custodians of the land . . . This is why the treaties are not perceived by our people as something that extinguished our title to the land, our rights to the land, but rather as a way of expressing our willingness to share equally our gift with the newcomers from far away."

(Treaty # 9, Sioux Lookout, p. 79)

Numerous representations before the Commission spoke of promises broken. People told of agreements made verbally but not recorded in the same way as spoken, of promises recorded that have not yet been fulfilled. They also complained of lack of meaningful participation:

"My people were not informed of the reasons you wanted the treaty, and you did not give us an opportunity to research and determine exactly what was in our best interests. My forefathers signed the treaty. They were deceived about its contents. They were never told about its effects. They were convinced they had no choice but to sign."

(Treaty # 3, Dryden, p. 401)

And:

"When the courts decided Treaty # 3 was in Ontario, the Ontario government said it would have to examine the treaty promises made by the federal government. Negotiations were held. We were not represented at these meetings. We were never even notified that these negotiations were taking place. At these negotiations, Ontario failed to fulfill all of the treaty promises. The federal government representatives did not protect our rights. Consequently, we lost much of what had been promised to us by the treaty commissioners."

(Treaty # 3, Dryden, p. 404)

Part of the problem of broken promises relates to the jurisdictional conflicts between the federal and provincial governments. In 1873 when Treaty # 3 was signed, the Ontario-Manitoba boundary was in dispute and Ontario was not party to the signing. The federal government granted a licence to the St. Catherine's Milling Company to cut timber in the Treaty # 3 area in 1883. When the Canada Boundary Act of 1889 confirmed that the area in question did lie within Ontario, the Ontario government sued the St. Catherine's Milling Company for the value of the timber cut and for cessation of timber operations. In finding for the province, the Court confirmed that beneficial interest in the lands resided with the province. This and other disputes led to "An Act

for the settlement of certain questions between the governments of Canada and Ontario respecting Indian lands" and an agreement of April 16, 1894, in which it was stated that any future treaties with the Indians in respect of territory in Ontario would require the concurrence of the government of Ontario. Thus, when Treaty #9 was signed in 1905-06, the government of Ontario was represented.

Representatives of the governments of Canada and Ontario both delivered statements to the Commission that outlined what they understood as their respective responsibilities for the Indian people. Clearly, the federal government assumes primary responsibility for registered Indians:

"The federal responsibility for Indians and their lands dates from the first contacts and communications between the Crown and the aboriginal inhabitants of this country. It is enshrined in the British North America Act of 1867 which gives the federal Parliament the necessary legislative jurisdiction to carry out that responsibility. It is signified by the special rights accorded to Indian people through their treaties, the Indian Act and other legislation."

(Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Hugh Faulkner, Moose Factory, p. 3259)

The provincial government's position with regard to registered Indians was also clear:

"The government of Canada should be generally responsible for services to registered Indians by virtue of section 91, sub-section 24 of the British North America Act and the constitutional convention that the government of Canada has for the interest and well-being of registered Indians. Where desirable, services may be purchased from and provided by the government of Ontario."

(Provincial Secretary for Resources Development, Rene Brunelle, Timmins, p. 2311)

The position of the Ontario government towards native rights was outlined:

"It is the government of Ontario which has paramount responsibility for making ultimate decisions in development and use of Ontario's natural resources . . . Ontario's Crown resources belong to all of the people of Ontario and will be managed in the best interests of all citizens of the province, including native people . . . Claims by native people based on aboriginal rights for unfulfilled treaty entitlements should be pursued jointly with the government of Canada and the province of Ontario. This shared responsibility for dealing with such claims arises from the division of responsibilities in the British North America Act which allocates the responsibilities for Indians, and land reserved for Indians, to Canada, and the responsibility for natural resources to Ontario."

(Provincial Secretary for Resources Development, Rene Brunelle, Timmins, p. 2314)

This divided jurisdiction and the imposition of provincial regulations over use of the natural resources seems to be a cause of what many people see as broken treaty promises:

"Indian people still use the land, for the land and the forests and the lakes provide for all our needs. I make a good living from the land . . . When the government made a treaty with us it promised not to take away our means of survival . . . The government promised that it was not going to judge how many animals we kill, but now they come up with quotas on the fish and on the wild rice in the area. The wild rice was put there for the Indians to use as food, but the government puts a quota on it. If you don't collect the right amount to sell in the south, the government gives the licence to a white man."

(Whitehead Moose, Sandy Lake, p. 2476)

The situation in relation to fishing rights was described:

"Shortly after the turn of the century, Ottawa, in its wisdom, informally delegated to Ontario administration of the Federal Fisheries Act. Regulations were passed pursuant to the Act and became known as the Ontario Fisheries Regulations. From its position as agent of the federal Crown, Ontario moved rapidly to a position where policies for application of the Act and amendments to the regulations were set by Ontario. The federal minister is now in a position where he denies that he can unilaterally apply the Fisheries Act in Ontario. This may be a political judgement. By taking this position, the federal government has effectively abrogated its responsibility, a constitutional responsibility, and a responsibility conferred on it by Parliament to manage and protect fish and man's use of fish. Nowhere was this denial of responsibility more blatant than in the case of the mercury pollution of the English-Wabigoon Rivers. In spite of the overwhelming evidence that the river system should be closed to all fishing, the federal minister indicated that he could do nothing unless advised to do so by the Ontario government. The truth of the matter is that Ottawa has chosen to deny its responsibility for the fishery. In doing so, Ottawa denies the responsibility that it has for native people and the fisheries resource. Treaty #3 guarantees the right of fishery, but Ottawa, by surrendering the fisheries management to Ontario, has relinquished any capability to manage the resource and, therefore, cannot meet its treaty commitments."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2873)

Yet some people of Indian ancestry do not have any similar rights to hunt and fish as those "guaranteed" to status Indians by treaty and the Indian Act. The Metis people believe they have aboriginal rights which are not recognized. Their representatives told the Commission that they sought:

"... the right to use our land as a resource: to fish, hunt, farm, to build homes and harvest renewable resources... Metis people should be receiving a little share from the development of our Canada, a share of the profits. Indian people have reserves, special programs, medical services. What do Metis people get? Nothing! Our heritage is completely overlooked. We are not asking for Canada. If an Indian is allowed to catch two rabbits, we should be allowed to catch one. The legal difference between Metis and Indian has separated brother and sisters, and this is a very sad thing. Metis want recognition of aboriginal rights for economic, social and legal purposes."

(Lake Nipigon Metis Association, Geraldton, p. 1394)

The Ontario Metis and Non-status Indian Association explained how their people became "non-Indian Indians":

"Some of our ancestors just did not get on the treaty list when it was finalized. Others refused to sign it as it meant accepting the European view that the land could be sold or signed over. They knew it was not a thing owned by people, that the land was the land and the people belonged to it. Some families were in treaty at some time in the past but they got lost. Perhaps a secretary got tired of typing... Suddenly they were Indian but not Indian... Some of our people enfranchised¹ themselves out of treaty... so they could have full rights as citizens."

(Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Kenora, p. 2635)

¹Enfranchisement is a statutory process by which an Indian gives up both the benefits and burdens of the Indian Act. Section 110 of the Indian Act provides: "A person with respect to whom an order for enfranchisement is made under this Act shall from the date thereof or from the date of enfranchisement provided for therein be deemed not to be an Indian within the meaning of this Act or any other statute or law."

Native women face a particular problem with regard to their status in law as Indians.²

"When an Indian woman marries a Metis or a white man, the Indian people and the white government take away her rights as a native. But the Indian man is allowed to marry whom he chooses without losing his rights. Why should an Indian woman be penalized for marrying the man she loves? The Indian people are bitching about their native rights, and how the white people are forever screwing them out of their native rights... What do they think they are doing to the Indian women?"

(Lake Nipigon Metis Association, Geraldton, p. 1390)

²Section 12(1)(b) of the Indian Act provides that an Indian woman who marries someone other than a status Indian is not entitled to be registered under the Indian Act. This means that any status Indian woman marrying a non-status Indian or a non-Indian is automatically enfranchised. This is a particularly contentious issue for women in Canada, especially in that when an Indian man marries a woman who is not a status Indian, not only does he not lose his status as a registered Indian, but section 11(F) provides that his wife is entitled to be registered under the Indian Act.

Representatives of one Metis organization stated that being signatories to a treaty³ would be beneficial:

"We would like to come back with a treaty and meet the Canadian government and the Indian people and say, 'Okay, we are the offspring of you and we want to sign this treaty with you?'"

(Lake Nipigon Metis Association, Geraldton, p. 1401)

³At least one such agreement does exist. In 1875, a group of Metis residing in the Rainy River area signed an adhesion to Treaty #3 in which they were granted an 18-square mile area of land as their reserve.

Several people appearing before the Commission called for measures that would protect native people's relation to the land and restore their rights. Renegotiation of the treaties was often cited as a key factor in the resolution of Indian claims and a necessary precursor to any development scheme. Some hoped that the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment could play a special role:

"It is hoped that the Commission could address the question of native rights and claims and their relationship to development, and provide some insight and at least partial solutions to conflicts arising out of this area."

(Ministry of the Environment, Red Lake, p. 566)

Native people also saw the Commission as a potential problem-solver:

"This Commission is important to us because we want it to be the vehicle whereby the provincial government clarifies its relationship with the federal government with respect to the original treaties and the Indian Act, which controls every aspect of our lives. Provincial responsibilities to the native people must be clearly identified and documented."

(Muskat Dam Reserve, Osnaburgh, p. 1851)

It was pointed out that the signing of the treaties took place long ago (Treaty #3 in 1873 and Treaty #9 in 1905-06) and that vast changes have taken place since then. Consequently, the treaties are inappropriate because they do not address present-day realities:

"The town council (of Sioux Lookout) feels that this idea (renegotiation of the treaties) has a great deal of merit, and that the Commission should pass on a recommendation to the province. Surely it is beyond question that the uses to which the land is put is well beyond the understanding and intentions of the original signatories; and that changes of the last 50 years have produced unforeseen threats to the traditional occupations of native peoples."

(Town of Sioux Lookout, Sioux Lookout, p. 28)

Resolution of the problems involving aboriginal rights was also advocated by business groups who expressed concern that failure to resolve native claims could lead to a general stagnation of development:

"The question of native rights will have to be dealt with fairly and justly in the context of future development . . . This area offers the opportunity of jobs based on a permanent, renewable resource . . . To reject this potential development is not only naive, but economically irresponsible."

(Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Dryden, p. 380)

Indian spokesmen indicated that they would press for control over their traditional lands:

"The wealth in our land is ours. We intend to retain control over its production and use. I wish to stress once more that the Ojibway of Treaty #3 claim northwestern Ontario as their ancestral home. We understand the delicate balance of the northern ecology. We understand and we plan to conserve it. Conservation and control are our demands. We are asserting our rights as the aboriginal people of northwestern Ontario."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2859)

". . . should your work result in action by the government of Canada to deal with and resolve all outstanding matters relating to the aboriginal rights, your work will have been of enormous benefit not only to our Indian people, but to all Canadians."

(Kenora and District Chamber of Commerce, Kenora, p. 3074)

Yet support for special recognition of native rights and claims was not universal:

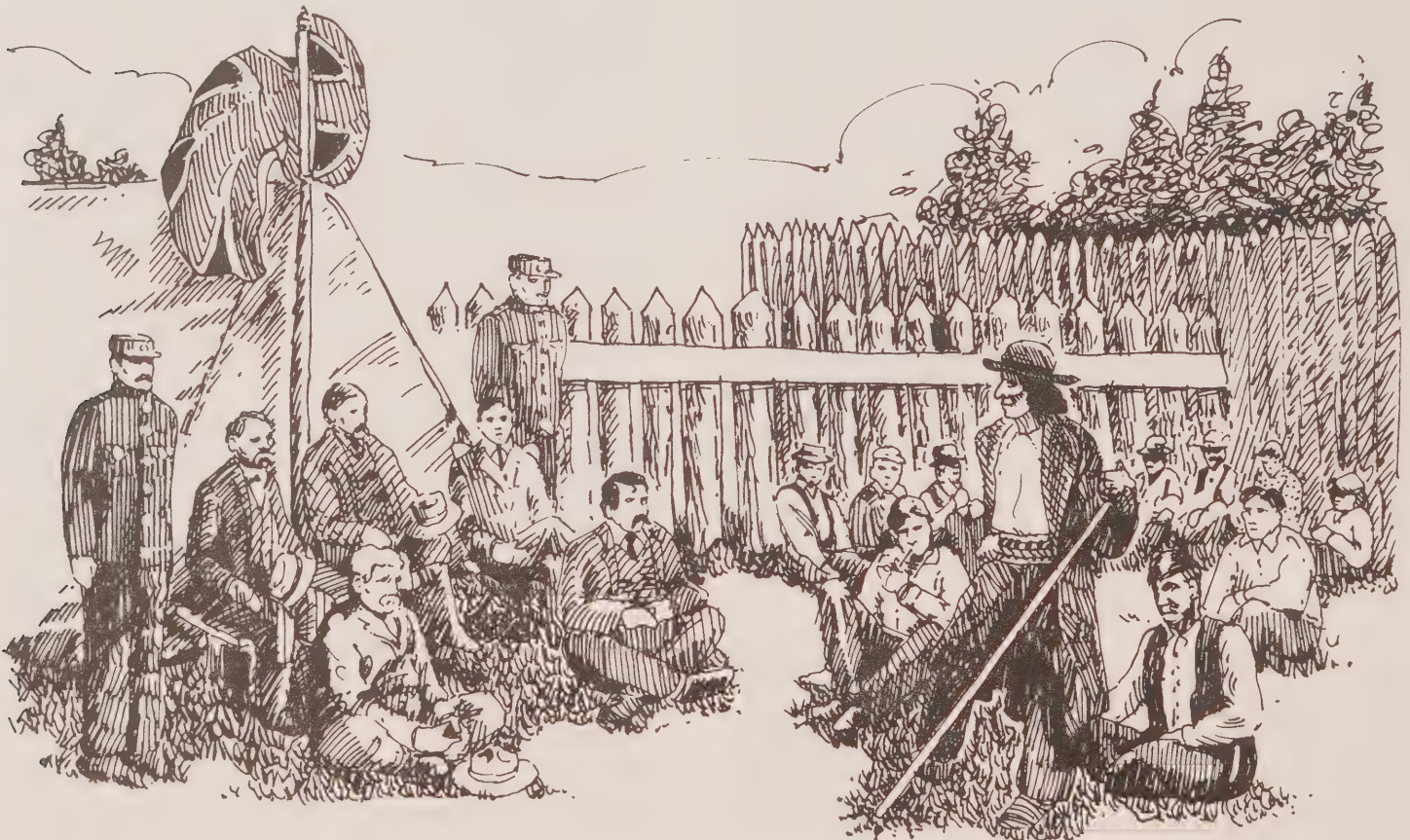
"While the native people live on the reserve, their treaty rights are respected. As far as I am concerned, when they choose to live on Crown lands they have no more rights than I, myself, have and should be governed by the same controls and regulations I must live with."

(Frederick Bergman, Ear Falls, p. 781)

Indian leaders have become more assertive in their claims for more control:

"We require a firm power base of legislation from which we can insist on the recognition and acceptance of our special status as a people with aboriginal rights. This recognition will facilitate the coming together of our various societies in the spirit of equality. It will eliminate racist and dependent relationships. With a strong Nishnawbe-Aski power base in our north, there would exist a real possibility of recovering power from Toronto for all northern peoples. Our people, with their special status, have a unique right to self-determination."

(Treaty #9, Moosonee, p. 3087)



APPENDIX D

*The North-West Angle Treaty, Number Three*¹

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded this third day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by her Commissioners, the Hon. Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories; Joseph Albert Norbert Provencher, and Simon James Dawson, of the one part; and the Saulteaux tribe of the Ojibbeway Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their Chiefs, chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part:

Whereas the Indians inhabiting the said country have, pursuant to an appointment made by the said Commissioners, been convened at a meeting at the North-West angle of the Lake of the Woods, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other;

And whereas the said Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty's said Commissioners, that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up for settlement, immigration, and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet, a tract of country bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrange with them, so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty, and that they may know and be assured of what allowance they are to count upon and receive from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence:

And whereas, the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in Council, as aforesaid, and being requested by Her Majesty's said Commissioners to name certain Chiefs and head men, who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct such negotiations, and sign any treaty to be founded thereon, and to become responsible to Her Majesty for the faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as shall be assumed by them, the said Indians have thereupon named the following persons for that purpose, that is to say: — Kee-tak-pay-pi-nais (Rainy River), Kitihi-gay-lake (Rainy River), Note-na-qua-hung (North-West Angle), Mawe-do-pe-nais (Rainy River), Pow-wa-sang (North-West Angle), Canda-com-igo-wi-ninie (North-West Angle), Pa-pa-ska-gin (Rainy River), May-no-wah-tau-ways-kung (North-West Angle), Kitchi-ne-ka-be-han (Rainy River), Sah-katch-eway (Lake Seul), Muka-day-wah-sin (Kettle Falls), Me-kie-sies (Rainy Lake, Fort Francis), Oos-con-na-geist (Rainy Lake), Wah-shis-kince (Eagle Lake), Rah-kie-y-ash (Flower Lake), Go-bay (Rainy Lake), Ka-me-ti-ash (White Fish Lake), Nee-sho-tal (Rainy River), Kee-gee-go-kay (Rainy River), Sha-sha-gance (Shoal Lake), Shah-win-na-bi-nais (Shoal Lake), Ay-ash-a-wash (Buffalo Point), Pay-ah-be-wash (White Fish Bay), Rah-tay-tay-pa-o-cutch (Lake of the Woods).

¹ Morris, the Hon. Alexander. *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*. Toronto: Coles, 1971, pp. 320-329.

And thereupon in open council the different bands having presented their Chiefs to the said Commissioners as the Chiefs and head men for the purposes aforesaid of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described.

And whereas the said Commissioners then and there received and acknowledged the persons so presented as Chiefs and head men for the purposes aforesaid of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described;

And whereas the said Commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the said Indians, and the same has been finally agreed upon and concluded as follows, that is to say:

The Saulteaux tribe of the Ojibbeway Indians, and all other the Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender, and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say:

Commencing at a point on the Pigeon River route where the international boundary line between the territories of Great Britain and the United States intersects the height of land separating the waters running to Lake Superior from those flowing to Lake Winnipeg, thence northerly, westerly and easterly, along the height of land aforesaid, following its sinuosities, whatever their course may be, to the point at which the said height of land meets the summit of the water-shed from which the streams flow to Lake Nepigon, thence northerly and westerly, or whatever may be its course along the ridge separating the waters of the Nepigon and the Winnipeg to the height of land dividing the waters of the Albany and the Winnipeg, thence westerly and north-westerly along the height of land dividing the waters flowing to Hudson's Bay by the Albany or other rivers from those running to English River and the Winnipeg to a point on the said height of land bearing north forty-five degrees east from Fort Alexander at the mouth of the Winnipeg; thence south forty-five degrees west to Fort Alexander at the mouth of the Winnipeg; thence southerly along the eastern bank of the Winnipeg to the mouth of White Mouth River; thence southerly by the line described as in that part forming the eastern boundary of the tract surrendered by the Chippewa and Swampy Cree tribes of Indians to Her Majesty on the third of August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, namely, by White Mouth River to White Mouth Lake and thence on a line having a general bearing of White Mouth River to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude; thence by the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the Lake of the Woods, and from thence by the international boundary line to the place of beginning.

The tract comprised within the lines above described embracing an area of fifty-five thousand square miles, be the same more or less.

To have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever.

And Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for farming lands, due respect being had to lands at present cultivated

by the said Indians, and also to lay aside and reserve for the benefit of the said Indians, to be administered and dealt with for them by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, in such a manner as shall seem best, other reserves of land in the said territory hereby ceded, which said reserves shall be selected and set aside where it shall be deemed most convenient and advantageous for each band or bands of Indians, by the officers of the said Government appointed for that purpose, and such selection shall be so made after conference with the Indians: Provided, however, that such reserve whether for farming or other purposes shall in nowise exceed in all one square mile for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, and such selection shall be made if possible during the course of next summer or as soon thereafter as may be found practicable, it being understood, however, that if at the time of any such selection of any reserves as aforesaid, there are any settlers within the bounds of the lands reserved by any band, Her Majesty reserves the right to deal with such settlers as she shall deem just, so as not to diminish the extent of land allotted to Indians; and provided also that the aforesaid reserves of lands or any interest or right therein or appurtenant thereto, may be sold, leased or otherwise disposed of by the said Government for the use and benefit of the said Indians, with the consent of the Indians entitled thereto first had and obtained.

And with a view to show the satisfaction of Her Majesty with the behavior and good conduct of her Indians, she hereby, through her Commissioners, makes them a present of twelve dollars for each man, woman and child belonging to the bands here represented, in extinguishment of all claims heretofore preferred.

And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to her Government of her Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it.

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians, that within the boundary of Indian reserves, until otherwise determined by the Government of the Dominion of Canada, no intoxicating liquor shall be allowed to be introduced or sold, and all laws now in force, or hereafter to be enacted to preserve her Indian subjects inhabiting the reserves, or living elsewhere within her North-West Territories, from the evil influence of the use of intoxicating liquors shall be strictly enforced.

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians, that they, the said Indians, shall have right to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as hereinbefore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by her Government of her Dominion of Canada, and saving and excepting such tracts as may from time to time be required to be taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering or other purposes, by her said Government of the Dominion of Canada, or by any of the subjects thereof duly authorized therefor by the said Government.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and her said Indians that such sections of the reserves above indicated as may at any time be required for public works or buildings, of what nature soever, may be appropriated for that purpose by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, due compensation being made for the value of any improvements thereon.

And further, that Her Majesty's Commissioners shall, as soon as possible,

after the execution of this treaty, cause to be taken an accurate census of all the Indians inhabiting the tract above described, distributing them in families, and shall in every year ensuing the date hereof at some period in each year, to be duly notified to the Indians, and at a place or places to be appointed for that purpose within the territory ceded, pay to each Indian person the sum of five dollars per head yearly.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that the sum of fifteen hundred dollars per annum shall be yearly and every year expended by Her Majesty in the purchase of ammunition, and twine for nets for the use of the said Indians.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that the following articles shall be supplied to any band of the said Indians who are now actually cultivating the soil, or who shall hereafter commence to cultivate the land, that is to say — two hoes for every family actually cultivating; also one spade per family as aforesaid; one plough for every ten families as aforesaid; five harrows for every twenty families as aforesaid; one scythe for every family as aforesaid; and also one axe and one cross-cut saw, one hand saw, one pit saw, the necessary files, one grindstone, one auger for each band, and also for each Chief for the use of his band, one chest of ordinary carpenter's tools; also for each band, enough wheat, barley, potatoes and oats to plant the land actually broken up for cultivation by such band; also for each band, one yoke of oxen, one bull and four cows; all the aforesaid articles to be given once for all the encouragement of the practice of agriculture among the Indians.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that each Chief, duly recognized as such, shall receive an annual salary of twenty-five dollars per annum, and each subordinate officer, not exceeding three for each band, shall receive fifteen dollars per annum; and each such Chief and subordinate officer as aforesaid shall also receive, once in every three years, a suitable suit of clothing; and each Chief shall receive, in recognition of the closing of the treaty, a suitable flag and medal.

And the undersigned Chiefs, on their own behalf and on behalf of all other Indians inhabiting the tract within ceded, do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty, and also to conduct and behave themselves as good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. They promise and engage that they will, in all respects obey and abide by the law; that they will maintain peace and good order between each other, and also between themselves and other tribes of Indians, and between themselves and others of Her Majesty's subjects, whether Indians or whites, now inhabiting or hereafter to inhabit any party of the said ceded tract; and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitant of such ceded tract, or the property of Her Majesty the Queen, or interfere with or trouble any person passing or travelling through the said tract or any part thereof; and that they will aid and assist the officers of Her Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the laws in force in the country so ceded.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Indian Chiefs have hereunto subscribed and set their hands, at the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, this day and year herein first above-named.

Adhesion of Lac Seul Indians, Lac Seul, 9th June, 1874

We, the Chiefs and Councillors of Lac Seul, Seul Trout and Sturgeon Lakes, subscribe and set our marks, that we and our followers will abide by the articles of the treaty made and concluded with the Indians at the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, on the third day of October, in the year of our lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioners, Hon. Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, Joseph Albert, N. Provencher and Simon J. Dawson, of the one part, and the Saulteaux tribes of Ojebewas Indians, inhabitants of the country as defined by the Treaty aforesaid.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's Indian Agent and the Chiefs and Councillors have hereto set their hands at Lac Seul, on the 9th day of June, 1874.

APPENDIX E

*The Lake Winnipeg Treaty, Number Five*¹

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded at Berens River the Twentieth day of September, and at Norway House the twenty-fourth day of September in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by her Commissioners, the Honorable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, and the Honorable James McKay, of the one part, and the Saulteaux and Swampy Cree Tribes of Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described by their Chiefs, chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part:

Whereas the Indians inhabiting the said country have, pursuant to an appointment made by the said Commissioners, been convened at meetings at Berens River and Norway House, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other;

¹ Morris, the Hon. Alexander. *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*. Toronto: Coles, 1971, pp. 342-350.

And whereas the said Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty's said Commissioners, that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up for settlement, immigration, and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet, a tract of country bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrange with them, so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty, and that they may know and be assured of what allowance they are to count upon and receive from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence;

And whereas, the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in council as aforesaid, and being requested by Her Majesty's said Commissioners to name certain Chiefs and head men, who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct such negotiations and sign any treaty to be founded thereon, and to become responsible to Her Majesty for the faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as shall be assumed by them, the said Indians have thereupon named the following persons for that purpose, that is to say: — For the Indians within the Berens River region and their several bands:

Nah-wee-kee-sick-quah-yash, Chief; Kah-nah-wah-kee-wee-nin and Nah-kee-quan-nay-yash, Councillors, and Pee-wah-noo-wee-nin, of Poplar River, Councillor; for the Indians within the Norway House region and their several bands, David Rundle, Chief; James Cochrane, Harry Constatag and Charles Pisequinip, Councillors; and Ta-pas-ta-num, or Donald William Sinclair Ross, Chief; James Garriock and Proud McKay, Councillors;

And thereupon in open council, the different bands having presented their Chiefs to the said Commissioners as the Chiefs and head men, for the purposes aforesaid, of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described;

And whereas, the said Commissioners then and there received and acknowledged the persons so presented as Chiefs and head men, for the purposes aforesaid, of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described;

And whereas, the said Commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the said Indians and the same has been finally agreed upon and concluded as follows, that is to say:

The Saulteaux and Swampy Cree tribes of Indians and all other the Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender, and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say:

Commencing at the north corner or junction of Treaties Numbers One and Three, thence easterly along the boundary of Treaty Number Three to the height of land at the north-east corner of the said treaty limits, a point dividing the waters of the Albany and Winnipeg Rivers, thence due north along the said height of land to a point intersected by the 53° of north latitude and thence north-westerly to Favourable Lake, thence following the east shore of said lake

to its northern limit, thence north-westerly to the north end of Lake Winnipegosis, thence westerly to the height of land called "Robinson's Portage," thence north-westerly to the east end of Cross Lake, thence north-westerly crossing Fox's Lake, thence north-westerly to the north end of Split Lake, thence south-westerly to Pipestone Lake, on Burntwood River, thence south-westerly to the western point of John Scott's Lake, thence south-westerly to the north shore of Beaver Lake, thence south-westerly to the west end of Cumberland Lake, thence due south to the Saskatchewan River, thence due south to the north-west corner of the northern limits of Treaty Number Four, including all territory within the said limits, and all islands on all lakes within the said limits as above described, and it being also understood that in all cases where lakes form the treaty limits, ten miles from the shore of the lake should be included in the treaty;

And also all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated in the North-West Territories, or in any other Province or portion of Her Majesty's Dominions situated and being within the Dominion of Canada;

The tract comprised within the lines above described embracing an area of one hundred thousand square miles, be the same, more or less;

To have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever.

And Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for farming lands, due respect being had to lands at present cultivated by the said Indians, and other reserves for the benefit of the said Indians to be administered and dealt with for them by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada; provided all such reserves shall not exceed in all one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families in manner following, that is to say: — For the band of Saulteaux in the Berens River region now settled, or who may within two years settle therein, a reserve commencing at the outlet of Berens River into Lake Winnipeg, and extending along the shores of said lake and up said river and into the interior behind said lake and river, so as to comprehend one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, a reasonable addition being, however, to be made by Her Majesty to the extent of the said reserve for the inclusion in the tract so reserved of swamps, but reserving the free navigation of the said lake and river, and free access to the shores and waters thereof for Her Majesty and all her subjects, and excepting thereout such land as may have been granted to or stipulated to be held by the Hudson's Bay Company, and also such land as Her Majesty or her successors may in her good pleasure see fit to grant to the mission established at or near Berens River by the Methodist Church of Canada, for a church, school-house, parsonage, burial ground and farm, or other mission purposes; and to the Indians residing at Poplar River, falling into Lake Winnipeg north of Berens River, a reserve not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres to each family of five, respecting as much as possible their present improvements; and inasmuch as a number of the Indians now residing in and about Norway House, of the band of whom David Rundle is Chief, are desirous of removing to a locality where they can cultivate the soil, Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees to lay aside a reserve on the west side of Lake Winnipeg, in the vicinity of Fisher River, so as to give one hundred acres to each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, who shall remove to the said locality

within "three years," it being estimated that ninety families or thereabout will remove within the said period, and that a reserve will be laid aside sufficient for that or the actual number; and it is further agreed that those of the band who remain in the vicinity of "Norway House" shall retain for their own use their present gardens, buildings and improvements until the same be departed with by the Queen's Government, with their consent first had and obtained for their individual benefit, if any value can be realized therefor; and with regard to the band of Wood Indians of whom Ta-pas-ta-num or Donald William Sinclair Ross is Chief, a reserve at Otter Island on the west side of Cross Lake of one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for smaller families, reserving however to Her Majesty, her successors, and her subjects, the free navigation of all lakes and rivers, and free access to the shores thereof; Provided, however, that Her Majesty reserves the right to deal with any settlers within the bounds of any lands reserved for any band as she shall deem fit, and also that the aforesaid reserves of land, or any interest therein, may be sold or otherwise disposed of by Her Majesty's Government for the use and benefit of the said Indians entitled thereto, with their consent first had and obtained; and with a view to shew the satisfaction of Her Majesty with the behaviour and good conduct of her Indians she hereby through her Commissioners makes them a present of five dollars for each man, woman and child belonging to the bands here represented, in extinguishment of all claims heretofore preferred;

And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to her Government of the Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it;

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians, that within the boundary of Indian reserves, until otherwise determined by her Government of the Dominion of Canada, no intoxicating liquor shall be allowed to be introduced or sold, and all laws now in force, or hereafter to be enacted, to preserve her Indian subjects inhabiting the reserves or living elsewhere within her North-West Territories, from the evil influence of the use of intoxicating liquors, shall be strictly enforced;

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians that they, the said Indians, shall have right to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as hereinbefore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by her Government of her Dominion of Canada, and saving and excepting such tracts as may from time to time be required or taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering or other purposes by her said Government of the Dominion of Canada, or by any of the subjects thereof duly authorized therefor by the said Government;

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and her said Indians, that such sections of the reserves above indicated as may at any time be required for public works or buildings, of what nature soever, may be appropriated for that purpose by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, due compensation being made for the value of any improvement thereon;

And further, that Her Majesty's Commissioners shall, as soon as possible after the execution of this treaty, cause to be taken an accurate census of all the Indians inhabiting the tract above described, distributing them in families, and shall in every year ensuing the date thereof, at some period in each year, to be duly notified to the Indians, and at a place or places to be appointed for

that purpose within the territory ceded, pay to each Indian person the sum of five dollars per head yearly;

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians that the sum of five hundred dollars per annum shall be yearly and every year expended by Her Majesty in the purchase of ammunition and twine for nets for the use of the said Indians, in manner following, that is to say: — In the reasonable discretion as regards the distribution thereof among the Indians inhabiting the several reserves or otherwise included herein, of Her Majesty's Indian Agent having the supervision of this treaty;

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians that the following articles shall be supplied to any band of the said Indians who are now cultivating the soil, or who shall hereafter commence to cultivate the land, that is to say: — Two hoes for every family actually cultivating; also one spade per family as aforesaid; one plough for every ten families as aforesaid; five harrows for every twenty families as aforesaid; one scythe for every family as aforesaid, and also one axe; and also one cross-cut saw, one hand saw, one pit saw, the necessary files, one grindstone, and one auger for each band; and also for each Chief for the use of his band, one chest of ordinary carpenter's tools; also, for each band, enough of wheat, barley, potatoes and oats to plant the land actually broken up for cultivation by such band; also, for each band, one yoke of oxen, one bull, and four cows; all the aforesaid articles to be given once *for all* for the encouragement of the practice of agriculture among the Indians.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that each Chief, duly recognized as such, shall receive an annual salary of twenty-five dollars per annum, and each subordinate officer, not exceeding three for each band, shall receive fifteen dollars per annum; and each such Chief and subordinate officer as aforesaid shall also receive, once every three years, a suitable suit of clothing; and each Chief shall receive, in recognition of the closing of the treaty, a suitable flag and medal.

And the undersigned Chiefs, on their own behalf, and on behalf of all other Indians inhabiting the tract within ceded, do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty, and also to conduct and behave themselves as good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. They promise and engage that they will, in all respects, obey and abide by the law, and they will maintain peace and good order between each other, and also between themselves and other tribes of Indians, and between themselves and others of Her Majesty's subjects, whether Indians or whites, now inhabiting or hereafter to inhabit any part of the said ceded tracts; and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitant of such ceded tracts, or the property of Her Majesty the Queen, or interfere with or trouble any person passing or travelling through the said tracts or any part thereof; and that they will aid and assist the officers of Her Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the laws in force in the country so ceded.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Indian Chiefs have hereunto subscribed and set their hands at Berens River, this twentieth day of September, A.D. 1875, and at Norway House, on the twenty-fourth day of the month and year herein first above named.

APPENDIX F

The James Bay Treaty, Treaty No. 9¹

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded at the several dates mentioned therein, in the year of Our Lord one thousand and nine hundred and five, between His Most Gracious Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, by His Commissioners, Duncan Campbell Scott, of Ottawa, Ontario, Esquire, and Samuel Stewart, of Ottawa, Ontario, Esquire; and Daniel George MacMartin, of Perth, Ontario, Esquire, representing the province of Ontario, of the one part; and the Ojibeway, Cree and other Indians, inhabitants of the territory within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their chiefs, and headmen hereunto subscribed, of the other part: —

Whereas, the Indians inhabiting the territory hereinafter defined have been convened to meet a commission representing His Majesty's government of the Dominion of Canada at certain places in the said territory in this present year of 1905, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to His Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other.

And, whereas, the said Indians have been notified and informed by His Majesty's said commission that it is His desire to open for settlement, immigration, trade, travel, mining, lumbering, and such other purposes as to His Majesty may seem meet, a tract of country, bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of His Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrange with them, so that there may be peace and good-will between them and His Majesty's other subjects, and that His Indian people may know and be assured of what allowances they are to count upon and receive from His Majesty's bounty and benevolence.

And whereas, the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in council at the respective points named hereunder, and being requested by His Majesty's commissioners to name certain chiefs and headmen who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct such negotiations and sign any treaty to be found thereon, and to become responsible to His Majesty for the faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as shall be assumed by them, the said Indians have therefore acknowledged for that purpose the several chiefs and headmen who have subscribed hereto.

And whereas, the said commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the Ojibeway, Cree and other Indians, inhabiting the district hereinafter defined and described, and the same has been agreed upon, and concluded by the respective bands at the dates mentioned hereunder, the said Indians do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the government of the Dominion of Canada, for His Majesty the King and His successors for ever, all their rights titles and privileges whatsoever, to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say: That portion or tract of land lying and being in the province of Ontario, bounded on the south by the height of land and the northern boundaries of the territory ceded by the Robinson-Superior Treaty of 1850, and the

¹ *The James Bay Treaty, Treaty #9 made in 1905 and 1906 and Adhesions made in 1929 and 1930*, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1964, pp. 19-31.

Robinson-Huron Treaty of 1850, and bounded on the east and north by the boundaries of the said Province of Ontario as defined by law, and on the west by a part of the eastern boundary of the territory ceded by the North-west Angle Treaty No. 3; the said land containing an area of ninety thousand square miles, more or less.

And also, the said Indian rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated in Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, the District of Keewatin, or in any other portion of the Dominion of Canada.

To have and to hold the same to His Majesty the King and His successors for ever.

And His Majesty the King hereby agrees with the said Indians that they shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as heretofore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the government of the country, acting under the authority of His Majesty, and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes.

And His Majesty the King hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for each band, the same not to exceed in all one square mile for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger and smaller families; and the location of the said reserves having been arranged between His Majesty's commissioners and the chiefs and headmen, as described in the schedule of reserves hereto attached, the boundaries thereof to be hereafter surveyed and defined, the said reserves when confirmed shall be held and administered by His Majesty for the benefit of the Indians free of all claims, liens, or trusts by Ontario.

Provided, however, that His Majesty reserves the right to deal with any settlers within the bounds of any lands reserved for any band as He may see fit; and also that the aforesaid reserves of land, or any interest therein, may be sold or otherwise disposed of by His Majesty's government for the use and benefit of the said Indians entitled thereto, with their consent first had and obtained; but in no wise shall the said Indians, or any of them, be entitled to sell or otherwise alienate any of the lands allotted to them as reserves.

It is further agreed between His said Majesty and His Indian subjects that such portions of the reserves and lands above indicated as may at any time be required for public works, buildings, railways, or roads of whatsoever nature may be appropriated for that purpose by His Majesty's government of the Dominion of Canada, due compensation being made to the Indians for the value of any improvements thereon, and an equivalent in land, money or other consideration for the area of the reserve so appropriated.

And with a view to show the satisfaction of His Majesty with the behaviour and good conduct of His Indians, and in extinguishment of all their past claims, He hereby, through His commissioners, agrees to make each Indian a present of eight dollars in cash.

His Majesty also agrees that next year, and annually afterwards for ever, He will cause to be paid to the said Indians in cash, at suitable places and dates, of

which the said Indians shall be duly notified, four dollars, the same, unless there be some exceptional reason, to be paid only to the heads of families for those belonging thereto.

Further, His Majesty agrees to pay such salaries of teachers to instruct the receive a suitable flag and a copy of this treaty to be for the use of his band.

Further, His Majesty agrees to pay such salaries of teachers to instruct the children of said Indians, and also to provide such school buildings and educational equipment as may seem advisable to His Majesty's government of Canada.

And the undersigned Ojibeway, Cree and other chiefs and headmen, on their own behalf and on behalf of all the Indians whom they represent, do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty, and also to conduct and behave themselves as good and loyal subjects of His Majesty the King.

They promise and engage that they will, in all respects, obey and abide by the law; that they will maintain peace between each other and between themselves and other tribes of Indians, and between themselves and others of His Majesty's subjects, whether Indians, half-breeds or whites, this year inhabiting and hereafter to inhabit any part of the said ceded territory; and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitant of such ceded tract, or of any other district or country, or interfere with or trouble any person passing or travelling through the said tract, or any part thereof, and that they will assist the officers of His Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the law in force in the country so ceded.

And it is further understood that this treaty is made and entered into subject to an agreement dated the third day of July, nineteen hundred and five, between the Dominion of Canada and Province of Ontario, which is hereto attached.

In witness whereof, His Majesty's said commissioners and the said chiefs and headmen hereunto set their hands at the places and times set forth in the year herein first above written.

Signed at Osnaburg on the twelfth day of July, 1905, by His Majesty's commissioners and the chiefs and headmen in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, after having been first interpreted and explained.

Adhesions to Treaty Number Nine

WHEREAS His Most Gracious Majesty George V, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, has been pleased to extend the provisions of the Treaty known as The James Bay Treaty or Treaty Number Nine, of which a true copy is hereto annexed, to the Indians inhabiting the hereinafter described territory adjacent to the territory described in the said Treaty, in consideration of the said Indians agreeing to surrender and yield up to His Majesty all their rights, titles and privileges to the hereinafter described territory.

AND WHEREAS we, the Ojibeway, Cree and all other Indians inhabiting the hereinafter described Territory, having had communication of the foregoing Treaty and of the intention of His Most Gracious Majesty to extend its provisions to us, through His Majesty's Commissioners, Walter Charles Cain, B.A., of the City of Toronto, and Herbert Nathaniel Awrey, of the City of Ottawa, have agreed to surrender and yield up to His Majesty all our rights, titles and privileges to the said territory.

NOW THEREFORE we, the said Ojibeway, Cree and other Indian inhabitants, in consideration of the provisions of the said foregoing Treaty being extended to us, do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada for His Majesty the King and His Successors forever, all our rights, titles and privileges whatsoever in all that tract of land, and land covered by water in the Province of Ontario, comprising part of the District of Kenora (Patricia Portion) containing one hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and twenty square miles, more or less, being bounded on the South by the Northerly limit of Treaty Number Nine; on the West by Easterly limits of Treaties Numbers Three and Five, and the boundary between the Provinces of Ontario and Manitoba; on the North by the waters of Hudson Bay, and on the East by the waters of James Bay and including all islands, islets and rocks, waters and land covered by water within the said limits, and also all the said Indian rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands and lands covered by water, wherever situated in the Dominion of Canada.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same to His Majesty the King and His Successors forever.

AND we, the said Ojibeway, Cree and other Indian inhabitants, represented herein by our Chiefs and Councillors presented as such by the Bands, do hereby agree to accept the several provisions, payments and other benefits, as stated in the said Treaty, and solemnly promise and engage to abide by, carry out and fulfil all the stipulations, obligations and conditions therein on the part of the said Chiefs and Indians therein named, to be observed and performed, and in all things to conform to the articles of the said Treaty as if we ourselves had been originally contracting parties thereto.

AND HIS MAJESTY through His said Commissioners agrees and undertakes to set aside reserves for each band as provided by the said aforementioned Treaty, at such places or locations as may be arranged between the said Commissioners and the Chiefs and headmen of each Band.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, His Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Chiefs and headmen have hereunto subscribed their names at the places and times hereinafter set forth.

SIGNED at Trout Lake, on the Fifth day of July, 1929, by His Majesty's Commissioners and the Chief and headmen in the presence of the undersigned witnesses after having been first interpreted and explained.

APPENDIX G

Representations made to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment during Preliminary Hearings

SIOUX LOOKOUT — November 7, 1977

- Town of Sioux Lookout, John E. Parry
- Lac Seul Band, Chief R. Ningewance
- Ministry of Northern Affairs, Honourable Leo Bernier
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Wilbert Jones
- Tom Fiddler
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Chief A. Rickard, President
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Wally McKay, Vice-President
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Chief C. O'Keese, Vice-President
- Northwestern Associated Chambers of Commerce, Arnold Beebe, President
- Walter Thompson
- Wilfred Wingenroth
- Ben Garrett
- Mrs. F. Woolner
- Laura Switzer

SIOUX LOOKOUT — November 8, 1977

- Ontario Forest Industries Association, Bob Laughlin, Manager
- The Great Lakes Paper Company, Warren S. Moore, President
- National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada, David Bates
- Children's Aid Society of the District of Kenora, John Parry
- Family and Children's Services of the District of Kenora, Joyce Timpson
- Man-O-Min Wild Rice Co-operative, Jim Windigo
- Slate Falls Airways, Glen Clarke
- Wesley Houston
- York University, Faculty of Environmental Studies, Joe De Pencier and Sue Farkas
- Archdeacon Kaye, Anglican Rector, Sioux Lookout
- Health and Welfare Canada, Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, Dr. G. Goldthorpe
- Ministry of Natural Resources, L. Ringham, Assistant Deputy Minister and R.J. Burgar, Director, Land Use Co-ordination Branch
- Armstrong Metis Association, Hector King
- Linda Pelton
- Tom Terry
- Ernie Farlinger
- Patricia Air Transport Limited, R.J. Burnett, Secretary-Treasurer
- Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Bill Coughlin, Chairman
- Brian Anderson
- Cathy Love
- Sioux Lookout Community Centre Board, Howard B. Lockhart
- Daily Bulletin, Stuart Cummings, Publisher
- Robert E. Bell
- Scott Landis
- Ruth Ingram
- Ifka Filipovich
- Helen Acton
- Michael Quince
- Mary Davies

DRYDEN — November 9, 1977

- The Dryden Observer, Alex Wilson, Publisher
- Town of Dryden, G. Rowat, Mayor
- Dryden Chamber of Commerce, Patrick Skillen, President
- Northern Ontario District Council of Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union, T. Mior
- Kenora District Camp Owners Association, Leo Colvin, President
- Grand Council Treaty #3, John Kelly, Grand Chief and Willie Wilson
- Anti-Mercury Ojibway Group (A-MOG), Chief Roy McDonald and Chief Simon Fobister
- Northwest Ontario Travel Association, Allan Hovi, General Manager
- Canadian Paperworkers Union, Local 105, A.G. Johnson
- Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Elmer Lick
- Ontario Public School Men Teachers Federation, Dryden District, J.R. Livingston, President
- Christopher Thomas
- Ralph Sullivan

RED LAKE — November 14, 1977

- Tri-Municipal Committee of the Towns of Balmertown, Ear Falls and Red Lake, Stanley Leschuk, Chairman
- Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Company Limited, James Williams, President
- Reed Limited, Kenneth D. Greaves, Senior Vice-President
- Cathy Morgan
- Vince Keller
- Doreen Heinrichs and Dana Robbins
- Canadian Paperworkers Union, Thomas Curley, Vice-President
- Madsen Community Association, David Symondson
- Doug Miranda
- Walter Papiel
- Ministry of the Environment, Walter Giles, Assistant Deputy Minister
- Red Lake Businessmen's Association, K. McLeod
- Red Lake District Camp Operators Association, Hugh Carlson
- The Red Lake Inter Agency Co-Ordinating Committee, Cathy Wilson
- Helen Garrett
- Health Committee for Senior Citizens, Ellie Lemon

RED LAKE — November 15, 1977

- Campbell Red Lake Mines, Al Ludwig, General Superintendent
- Cochenour Willans Gold Mines, J.E. Fahlgren
- Pikangikum Band, Chief Ben Quill
- Taking Responsible Environmental and Economic Safeguards (T.R.E.E.S.), Jean Evans and Ron Robinson
- Association of Professional Engineers, Lake of the Woods Chapter, Duncan Wilson
- Green Airways, George Green
- Griffith Mine, John Jeffries, President
- Red Lake Businessmen's Association, David Meadows
- James C. Seeley
- Tom Faess
- Ormond Sharpe

- Fiona and Terry Robinson
- Hugh Carlson

EAR FALLS — November 16, 1977

- Tri-Municipal Committee, Stan Leschuk, Reeve, Township of Ear Falls, D'Arcy Halligan, Secretary, Tri-Municipal Committee and Mrs. Carl Butterfield, Deputy Reeve, Red Lake
- Ear Falls and Perrault Falls Chamber of Commerce, Bob Ahlers
- Ministry of Natural Resources, R. Riley and Peter Anderson
- Frederick Bergman
- Ontario Professional Foresters Association, John Blair
- Ministry of Correctional Services, Fred Boden and Eric Huddlestone
- Delia and Alex Rosenthal
- Dr. H.C. Maynard
- Red Lake Board of Education, Wayne Seller
- Ear Falls Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Cheryl Smith

TIMMINS — November 23, 1977

- Timmins, City of, Economic Advisory Board, M. Doody, Mayor
- Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, D. Stevenson
- Town of Kapuskasing, Maurice Deschamps
- Ontario Paper Company Limited, J. Simmons, Vice-President
- Timmins-Porcupine Chamber of Commerce, John Huggins
- Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples, Ann Marshall
- Unorganized Communities of Northeastern Ontario, Gerard Violette
- Douglas Pimlott
- Ministry of Agriculture and Food, N. Tarleton and G. D'Aoust
- Onakawana Development Limited, Olaf Wolff, Vice-President
- Project North, Karmel Taylor-McCullum
- Ontario New Democratic Party Caucus, Jim Foulds, MPP and Marion Bryden, MPP
- Ontario Mining Association, J.M. Hughes, Executive Director and J. Ridout, Assistant Executive Director
- Northern Ontario Heritage Party, Ed Deibel
- Canadian Wildlife Service, Bruce Switzer
- Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, Brad Sloan
- Northern College of Applied Arts and Technology, J.H. Drysdale, President
- Cochrane Temiskaming Working Group for the Developmentally Handicapped, J.H. Drysdale

TIMMINS — November 24, 1977

- Canadian Environmental Law Association, Paul Gavrel
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Chief A. Rickard, President
- Dr. John Spence
- Brunswick House Band, Chief Fred Neshawabin
- Mattagami Junior Band Council, Barbara Naveau
- Mattagami Band, Chief Willis McKay
- Mattachewan Band, Chief George Baptiste
- Michael Patrick
- Stanley Smith
- Cochrane Board of Trade, Talson Rody

- Ontario Northland Transportation Commission, George Payne
- Ministry of Revenue, M. O'Dowd and G. Picard
- Town of Cochrane, Maurice Hotte, Mayor
- Spruce Falls Power and Paper Company Limited, George Ingram
- Prospectors and Developers Association of Ontario, R. Allarston
- Garden River Band, Chief R. Boissoneau
- Ontario Trappers Association, A.J. Lalonde
- Ontario Hydro, John Dobson, Vern Coles and Al Rogers
- Ontario Abitibi Band, Chief Jim Diamond
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Gilbert Faries

GERALDTON — November 28, 1977

- Ministry of Transportation and Communications, J.C. Sherwood
- Polar Gas Project, Bruce MacOdrum
- Geraldton Composite High School, A.J. Korkola, Principal
- Union of Ontario Indians, D. Riley, President
- Father Brian Tiffin
- George Marek
- York University, Polar Gas Case Study Group, Greg Thompson and Jan MacPherson
- Ontario Native Women's Association, Marlene Pierre, President
- Town of Geraldton, M. Power, Mayor
- Collège de Hearst, Raymond Tremblay, Director
- Nordinord and Boreal, Gilbert Heroux
- Fort Hope Band, Chief Charlie Okeese
- Long Lac Band, Chief Gabriel Echum
- Constance Lake Band, Chief Bentley Cheechoo
- Martin Falls Band, Chief Eli Moonias
- Constance Lake Youth Council, Rose Le Fleur, Cecile Sutherland, Riley Anderson, and Teresa Sutherland
- Pioneer Club, Geraldton Senior Citizens, Ginger Ball and Patricia Boyle
- Lake Nipigon Metis Association, Michael McGuire
- Millie Barrett
- Tommy Mattinas
- Mathew Sutherland
- John Evans
- Ange Veilleux

NAKINA — November 29, 1977

- Kimberly-Clark Pulp and Paper Co., G.L. Puttock, President
- Township of Longlac, Reginald Hopkin, Reeve
- Ontario Hydro, G. Patterson
- Ontario Public School Men Teachers Federation, Geraldton District, Jay Daiter
- Improvement District of Nakina, D. Horne, Secretary-Treasurer
- Nakina Tourist Area Outfitters Association, A. Rampton
- Canadian National Railway, J.R. Burns, Area Manager
- Nakina Chamber of Commerce, Peggy Swanson
- Daniel Yoki and Greg Bourdignon
- Canon John Long
- Norman Skinner
- Lakehead University, Native Students Association, Claudia Irons and Ruby Morris

- Grand Council Treaty #3, Chief Peter Kelly
- Mrs. A.R. Mercier
- Northwestern Ontario International Women's Decade Co-ordinating Council, Julie Fels and Leona Lang
- Stan Hunnisett
- Terrence Brian Swanson
- S.W. Lukinuk

PICKLE LAKE — December 5, 1977

- Bell Canada, Perry Brisbin
- Steep Rock Iron Mines, Larry Lamb
- Ontario Northland Transportation Commission, G. Payne and Don Wallace
- Crolancia High School, grades 9 and 10, Bob Walli
- Don McKelvie
- Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Victor Handforth and Jack Willock
- A.E. Brazeau
- Patricia Home Owners Association, Brian Booth
- Improvement District of Pickle Lake, Brian Booth
- Ministry of Northern Affairs, Phil Mostow
- UMEX Corporation, Doug Pittet
- Linda and Dan Pickett
- Connell and Ponsford District School Board, J. Murray, Chairman
- Don Koval
- Stan Werbisky
- Ontario Public Interest Research Group, Waterloo Local, T. Cheskey and P. Weller
- Henry Munro
- Ron Slemko
- Rhys Rissman

OSNABURGH — December 6, 1977

- Grand Council Treaty #9, Chief Wallace McKay
- Jeremiah Sainnawap
- James Masakeyash
- Magnus James
- Gordie Beardy
- Moses Fiddler
- Albert Mamakwa
- New Osnaburgh Band, Chief Maurice Loon
- Cat Lake Band, Chief Jasper Keesickquayash
- John Cooke
- Jim Mezzatay
- Slate Falls Band, Levius Wesley
- James Waboose
- North Caribou Lake Band, Chief Saul Keeash
- Muskrat Dam Band, Arthur Beardy
- Bearskin Lake Band, Chief Tom Kam
- Sachigo Lake Band, Peter Barkman and Solomon Beardy
- Pehtabun Area Chiefs Council, Bill Mamakeesic, Chairman
- Ambrose Mikinac
- Edward Machimity

OSNABURGH — December 7, 1977

- Big Trout Lake Band, Chief Stanley Sainnawap
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Chief Gerald McKay
- Wunnumin Lake Band, Chief John Bighead
- Kingfisher Lake Band, Chief Simon Sakakeep
- Angling Lake Band, Chief Ananias Winter
- Simon Frogg
- Fort Severn Band, Chief Elijah Stoney
- Kasabonika Lake Band, Councillor Jeremiah McKay and Harry Semple
- Long Dog Lake, Henry Frogg and Simon Frogg
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Fred Plain
- Lakehead University, Native Students Association, Ruby Morris and Garnet Angecone
- Ange Veilleux
- Family and Children's Services of the District of Kenora, Joyce Timpson
- Mrs. M. Kwandibens
- Roy Kaminawash
- Councillor Joseph Skunk

TORONTO — December 15, 1977

- Provincial Secretariat for Social Development, Maureen Quigley
- University of Waterloo, School of Urban and Regional Planning, Roger Suffling
- University of Waterloo, Department of Man-Environment Studies, Carol Farkas
- Northern Ontario Tourist Outfitters Association, Dean Wenborne, President
- Planned Parenthood Ontario, Mrs. Eleanor McDonald, Executive Director
- Joe De Pencier
- Trent University Native Association, Reid Dingwall
- Ministry of Colleges and Universities, Marie Louise Sebald
- Pollution Probe, Linda Pim
- Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, Roger Obonsawin, Executive Director
- Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples, Toronto Chapter, Laura Kennedy
- Laurentian University, Dr. Tom Alcoze
- Laurentian University, Department of Geography, Ron Anderson
- University of Sudbury, Department of Native Studies, James Dumont
- University of Toronto, Faculty of Medicine, Department of Psychiatry, Dr. Gerald H.C. Greenbaum
- Ministry of Community and Social Services, Dr. Cliff Williams
- Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility, Patrick Dare
- The Association of Concerned Torontonians Inquiring into Ontario North, Paul Kennedy
- University of Toronto, Faculty of Forestry and Landscape Architecture, Dr. Paul Aird
- York University, President's Advisory Committee on Northern Studies, Dr. Graham Beakhurst
- A Group of Concerned Ottawa Citizens, Ann Cole

TORONTO — December 16, 1977

- Development Education Centre, Eric King
- University of Toronto, Institute for Environmental Studies, Dr. Kenneth Hare

- Ministry of Health, Gordon Martin
- Ontario Public Interest Research Group, Connie Clement
- Ministry of Education, R. Hunter and W. Morgan
- Chief Peter Kelly
- Ontario Society for Environmental Management, Dr. Robert Dorney and Tom Lowen
- Frontier College, Jack Pearpoint
- Lakehead University, Dr. Robert Rosehart, Dean
- School of Experiential Education, Susan Stopps
- Ministry of Energy, Richard Lundeen
- The Committee in Support of Native Concerns, London, George Webb
- University of Waterloo, Faculty of Environmental Studies, R.T. Newkirk, Associate Professor and J.G. Nelson, Dean
- Oxfam-Canada, Dr. Roger Rolfe
- Ministry of Labour, Gerald Swartz
- Quaker Committee on Native Concerns, Nancy Pocock
- National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada, Carol Bailey
- Ontario Welfare Council, Donald Bellamy and David Kennedy
- Continental Hydroponics Limited, Gerald Rosenberg
- The Conservation Council of Ontario, M.J. Bacon, President

TIMMINS — December 21, 1977

- Canadian Mental Health Association, Timmins Branch, Shirley Rokeby
- Provincial Secretary for Resources Development, Honourable Rene Brunelle
- Town of Smooth Rock Falls, P. Kelly, Mayor
- Canadian Civil Liberties Association, Timmins Chapter, Martha Laughren
- The Cochrane District Health Council, Floyd Dale
- Northeastern Ontario Municipalities Action Group, Rene Piche, Chairman
- Prospectors and Developers Association, Porcupine Branch, John Larche
- Timmins Women's Resource Centre, Lynne Wisniewski
- Allan Pope, MPP
- Mike Zudel
- Gerry Martin

SANDY LAKE — January 10, 1978

- Tom Fiddler
- Grand Council Treaty # 9, Wally McKay
- North Spirit Lake, Councillor Norman Ray
- Deer Lake Band, Arthur Meekis
- Sandy Lake Band, Chief Saul Fiddler
- MacDowell Lake Band, Magnus James
- Poplar Hill Band, Councillor Judas Kettle Strang and Absolum Moose
- Fred Meekis
- Pikangikum Band, Chief Ben Quill

SANDY LAKE — January 11, 1978

- Sandy Lake Council on Alcohol and Drug Abuse, Abel Ray and Joe Meekis
- Kitiwin Communications Association, Eddie Fiddler and Donald Mamakeesic
- Northern Native Education Council, Richard Morris
- Whitehead Moose
- Pehtabun Area Chiefs Council, Bill Mamakeesic, Chairman
- Jacob Fiddler

KENORA — January 17, 1978

- Grand Council Treaty # 3, John Kelly, Grand Chief
- Town of Kenora, George McMillan, Councillor
- Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Northwest Region, Paddy Reid, Regional Archaeologist
- Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association, W. Wake, President
- Northwestern Commercial Fisheries Federation, Alice Longe
- Lake of the Woods Pow-Wow Club, Joe Morrison
- Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, Lee Doyle
- Ontario Human Rights Commission, Bromley Armstrong
- Canadian Institute of Forestry, Lake of the Woods Section, G. Brown
- Northwestern Ontario District Progressive Conservative Youth Association, Fergus Devins
- Kenora Paper Mill Unions Federated Committee, L. Hudson
- Nancy Morrison
- Warner Troyer
- Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Zone 1, Brenda Prouty
- Town of Keewatin, Township of Jaffray and Melick, R.W. Kahoot, Mayor
- Ontario Federation of Labour, Clifford Pilkey and Shelley Acheson
- Ministry of Natural Resources, R. Riley
- Roberta Keesick
- Canadian Mental Health Association, Ontario Division, Wendy Hill
- Kenora Ministerial Association, Reverend John Fullmer
- Dr. Brian Russell
- Bearskin Lake Air Service, Karl Frisen
- Kenora Women's Coalition, Valerie Kellberg and Rosalyn Copenace
- Kenora District Campowner's Association, Dick Motlong
- Confederation College of Applied Arts and Technology, Richard Staples, Danny Dumas and Brian Larson
- Canadian Paperworkers Union, Local 238, Carl Stephens, President
- The Kenora-Keewatin and District Labour Council, Carl Stephens
- Reverend Stuart Harvey

WHITEDOG — January 18, 1978

- Islington Band (Whitedog Reserve), Chief Roy McDonald
- Councillor Charles Wagamese
- Lori Wagamese
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, John Kelly, Grand Chief
- Grassy Narrows Band, Chief Simon Fobister
- Fred Cameron
- Baptist Bigblood
- Tony Henry
- William McDonald
- Robert Land, Sr.
- Tommy Keesick
- Marcel Pahpahsay
- Sister Simone Lefebvre
- Anti-Mercury Ojibway Group (A-MOG), Tony Henry
- Allan Carpenter

KENORA — January 19, 1978

- Ted Hall

- Grand Council Treaty # 3, John Kelly, Grand Chief
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, Chief Philip Gardner
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, Chief Peter Kelly
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, Willie Wilson
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, Nancy Morrison
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, Shirley Chapman
- Shoal Lake Band, Chief Robin Greene
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, Colin Wasacase
- Kenora Rotary Club, A. Dodds
- Addiction Research Foundation, Garth Toombs and Joe Brown
- Publicity Board of Kenora, Randy Jackson
- Kenora-Rainy River District Health Council, Bob Muir
- Dave Schwartz
- Mac Morrison
- Barry Gibson
- Atikaki Council, Marc Wermager, Executive Director
- Kenora Physically Handicapped Action Group, Winnie Magnusson
- Unorganized Communities Association of Northwestern Ontario, Kathy Davis, Executive Director
- Thunder Bay Chamber of Commerce, Keith Jobbitt
- North of Superior Travel Association, Keith Jobbitt
- Law Union of Ontario, Bob Edwards
- Mantario Wilderness Society, T.P. Walker
- Kenora and District Chamber of Commerce, Doug Johnson
- Barney Lamm
- Fred Greene

MOOSONEE — February 1, 1978

- Grand Council Treaty # 9, Chief Andrew Rickard, President
- Moosonee Development Area Board, Ray Cool, Chairman
- Arnold Peters, MP
- James Bay Education Centre, Ivor Jones, Director
- Moosonee Board of Trade, Harold Peters, Secretary
- Moosonee Public School, Grade 8
- Moosonee Recreation Committee, Jacques Begin
- Daniel Spence
- Northern Native Education Council, Richard Morris
- North Cochrane District Family Services, Ron Pulsifer, President
- Moosonee Metis Association, Bonnie Trapper
- Bishop Leguerriere
- Frederick Whiskeychan
- Wa-Wa-Ta Native Communications Society, Garnet Angecone
- Joe Linklater
- James Locke
- Ross Irwin

MOOSE FACTORY — February 2, 1978

- James Wesley
- Kashechawan Band, Chief Willie Stevens and Councillor Sinclair Williams
- Attawapiskat Band, Chief Fred Wesley
- James Bay Chiefs, Chief Tom Archibald
- Fort Albany Band, Chief John Nakogee
- Winisk Band, Chief Louis John-George

- Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Honourable Hugh Faulkner
- John Fletcher
- Grade 5A, Moose Fort School, Susan Vincent
- Gilbert Faries
- Emile Nakogee
- Moose Band, Chief Munroe Linklater
- Grade 6B, Moose Factory Public School, Colleen McLeod and Wally Turner
- Raphael Wabano
- St. Thomas' Anglican Church, Dr. Redford Louttit and Reverend J.A. Stennett
- John Long
- Grade 5, Moose Factory Public School, Lyle McLeod, Brian Wesley, Howard Rickard and Heather Faries
- James Bay Cree Society, Peggy Sailors, Clifford Trapper and Ida Faries
- Simeon Metat
- Moose Factory Island Public School Board, Patrick Chilton, Secretary-Treasurer
- Warner West
- Ernie T.S. Sutherland
- Margaret Solomon
- Sinclair Cheechoo
- George Katukapupit
- Sinclair Williams
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Chief A. Rickard

APPENDIX H

Written Submissions to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment

ABITIBI PAPER COMPANY LIMITED, H. Rosier, President
 ADOLESCENT PROGRAM, MOOSE FACTORY ZONE, Dr. D.W. Richardson
 ALGOMA CENTRAL RAILWAY, S.A. Black, General Manager
 ALGOMA STEEL CORPORATION LIMITED, John MacNamara, President
 ASSOCIATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES TECHNICIANS
 BALMERTOWN, THE IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT OF
 BENNETT, Ruth, Ovid, Colorado
 BRENNAN, Roger, Windsor, Ontario
 BROUGHTON, Jim, Milton, Ontario
 CALVIN CHRISTIAN MEMORIAL SCHOOL
 CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
 CANADIAN PULP AND PAPER ASSOCIATION, Gordon Minnes, Secretary
 COLLINS, John J., Toronto, Ontario
 CORRISTINE, Susan, Toronto, Ontario
 CROFTS, Bruce H., Toronto, Ontario
 DINGLE, Jennifer, Downsview, Ontario
 DOMINION FOUNDRIES & STEEL LIMITED, F.H. Sherman, President
 DOMTAR WOODLANDS LIMITED, H.J. Iverson, R.P.E., Manager of Forestry
 FEAR, Julia K., Toronto, Ontario

FINLAYSON, Donald, Toronto, Ontario
 FORD, Paul M., Elmira, New York
 FRANKEL, Jessica, San Diego, California
 GERALDTON DISTRICT AIRPORT COMMISSION
 GERALDTON DISTRICT HOSPITAL, Bessie P. Newman, Administrator
 GRIFFITHS, C.O., Oxdrift, Ontario
 HALL, Michael B., Mount Berry, Georgia
 KAMINISTIQUEA THEATRE LABORATORY, Michael Sobota
 KENDRICK, Loreine Y., Brooklyn, New York
 KITCHENER-CONESTOGA ROTARY CLUB
 KLAPPER, Marion Foley, Jamaica, New York
 KUCHERAN, Dan M.
 LEE, Peter, Winnipeg, Manitoba
 LESIUK, John, Red Lake, Ontario
 LIEDTKE, G.A., Ear Falls, Ontario
 MALACHI CAMPERS' ASSOCIATION, D. Bruce Main, President
 MARTIN, David, Lakehead University
 MATTSO, Ronald E., Minneapolis, Minnesota
 MERKLI, Guido, Dryden, Ontario
 MOFFAT, D.S., Ottawa, Ontario
 MORTON, Irma, Geraldton, Ontario
 MUNICIPAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON PROVINCIAL PLANNING, North-
 western Ontario, Dale Willoughby, Chairman
 NATIONAL SURVIVAL INSTITUTE, Beatrice Oliverstri
 ONTARIO FORESTRY ASSOCIATION, W.T. Foster, President
 ONTARIO MINISTRY OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
 ONTARIO MINISTRY OF HOUSING, D.A. Crosbie, Deputy Minister
 ONTARIO MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND TOURISM
 PIPPY, Harold, Burlington, Ontario
 PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA Board of World Mission
 PRESS, Marla J., Brooklyn, New York
 PRESSMAN, Ruth V., Brooklyn, New York
 PYLE, Kathy, Delhi, New York
 REID, Patrick, MPP, Rainy River District
 ROWLEY, John P., Richmond, Virginia
 RUTHERFORD, S.B., Orono, Ontario
 SAVAGE, Harvey S., Toronto, Ontario
 SCHUTZ, J. Evelyn, Central City, Nebraska
 SIPPELL, David W., Sioux Lookout, Ontario
 SUK, Jennifer, St. Catherines, Ontario
 TELESAT CANADA, Douglas Golden, President
 TETROE, Gordon, Kenora, Ontario
 THUNDER BAY & DISTRICT LABOUR COUNCIL
 UNITED SOCIETY OF FRIENDS WOMEN, I.W. Patrick, Stewardship Secretary
 UNITED STEEL WORKERS OF AMERICA, G. Wonnick
 VACHON, Joanne, North Bay, Ontario
 VALOIS, Elizabeth, Narragansett, Rhode Island
 WALSH, Norman, Oneonta, New York
 WARING, Y., Jefferson, New York
 WHITE, Jo-Anne, Sudbury, Ontario
 WOLFE, Robert and Catherine, New Liskeard, Ontario
 WRIGHT, Daniel A. Atkikokan, Ontario

APPENDIX I

Notes and Corrections

The following corrections to the text were submitted by the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

1. "Page 24, Transportation and Communication, the statement, 'The settlements along the coast are served by a federal government-operated barge service out of Moosonee.' This is not true. The existing water freighting service is privately owned and operated."
2. "Under Services and Amenities on page 25, it is stated, 'In the Indian communities or reserves, medical services are the responsibility of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND).' This is not true as federal medical services for Indian people are administered by the Department of National Health and Welfare."

The drawing on page 143 of an above-ground pipeline was not meant to depict the Polar Gas Project pipeline. The Polar Gas Project submission to the Commission stated that: "Present plans call for a 42-inch diameter buried pipeline."

(Polar Gas Project, Geraldton, p. 1254)

